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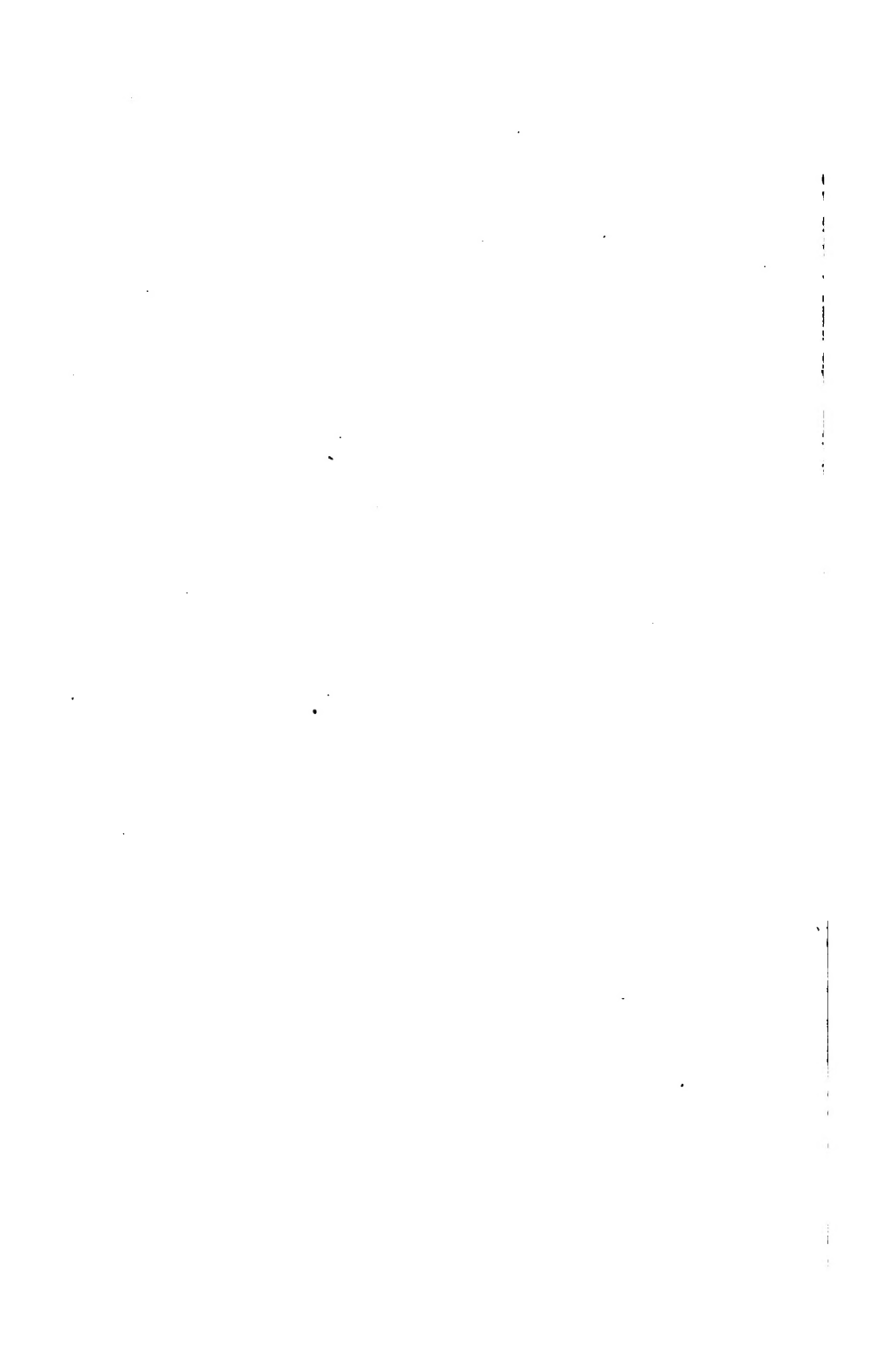
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# SELECTIONS

FROM

## XENOPHON AND HERODOTUS.

With Notes

ADAPTED TO THE REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION OF  
GOODWIN'S GREEK GRAMMAR,

*AND COPPERPLATE MAPS.*

EDITED BY

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## PREFACE.

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THIS volume of Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus professes to contain a fair equivalent in amount for the extracts from Xenophon, Plato, Herodotus, and Thucydides which are included in Goodwin's Greek Reader. It is intended for the use of those who, from want of time or for any other reason, are obliged to confine their reading in Greek prose, before entering college, to two authors. The Editors, however, cannot refrain from recording their conviction, that all who are able and willing to study the Reader, or some other compilation containing as great variety of matter and style, should by all means do so. Two additional books of the *Anabasis* are surely a poor substitute, in point of quality, for Xenophon's sketch of the character of Socrates, Plato's graphic account of the last hours of his great master, Thucydides's narrative of the campaign at Pylus, and Xenophon's of the battle of Mantinea.

The first four books of the *Anabasis*, which are here given entire, carry the narrative of the retreat of the Ten Thousand down to their arrival at Trapezus, after their perilous march from the neighborhood of Babylon. Then follows the greater part of the Second Book of the *Hellenica*, describing the capture of Athens by the Spartan Lysander, the tragic end of the long Peloponnesian war in the destruction of the Piræus and of the Long Walls of Athens — the pride of Themistocles and Pericles — to the insulting music of flutes, the odious rule of the Thirty Tyrants, with the expulsion of the oligarchy and

the restoration of the democracy by Thrasybulus and his band of exiled patriots from Phyle.

The selections from Herodotus are in four parts. The first contains the account of the invasion of Darius and the battle of Marathon. The three others contain the most important passages in the Seventh and Eighth books, forming a continuous account of the invasion of Xerxes, — the pomp of the Great King's preparation; the march of the mighty host from Asia to Greece, including bridging the Hellespont and cutting the canal through Athos; the preparations of the terrified Greeks; the wisdom of the Delphic oracle and the craft of Themistocles; the battles of Thermopylae, Artemisium, and Salamis; and finally the ignominious retreat of Xerxes from Salamis to Asia. The campaign of Mardonius in the following year, with the battles of Plataea and Mycale, is omitted for want of space. In thus condensing two long books of Herodotus into so small a compass, great pains have been taken to avoid abrupt transitions; and often single sentences have been taken from a chapter to keep up the continuity of the narrative. It is hoped that the wonderful story of the campaign of Xerxes has thus been presented to the pupil in greater vividness and completeness than it could have been by detached extracts.

The notes on the first two books of the *Anabasis* have been prepared chiefly by Mr. White, those on the last two chiefly by Mr. Goodwin. Those on the *Hellenica* and Herodotus are taken, generally without change, from the notes in Goodwin's Reader, which were prepared for that work in 1871 with the help of Rev. Joseph H. Allen. The notes make no pretension to learning, and aim merely at aiding beginners in laying a solid foundation for future scholarship. The grammatical aid is given in great measure in the form of references, in which form alone it can be systematic. Young students need to be referred to more detailed statements of the general principles involved in the new constructions which they constantly meet in reading than can be given in a commentary; and frequent reference to the

grammar is the only sure means of fixing in the mind the important principles of syntax. It will be seen that the notes on the First Book of the *Anabasis*, which it is assumed will be used for giving a solid foundation in the general principles of Greek syntax, are especially copious; while those on the remainder of the work are written for pupils who are supposed to have mastered the rudiments. In the opinion of the Editors it is highly desirable to use as small a portion as possible of the classic literature as a *corpus vile* for the more minute dissection, and to enable pupils at the earliest possible moment to read Greek and Latin with an appreciative mind.

No notes can supply all the collateral information needed for the full understanding of an ancient historian. Constant reference should be made to a classical dictionary and to some Greek history. It may be too much to expect of school-boys in these days that they should read a history like Grote's; but all who wish to catch the true spirit of the history they are studying cannot be too strongly recommended to read Grote's graphic account of the Persian wars with Herodotus, his chapters on the Thirty Tyrants with Xenophon's *Hellenica*, and those on Cyrus the Younger and the Ten Thousand Greeks with the *Anabasis*. Cox's little volume, "*The Greeks and the Persians*," is also an excellent companion to Herodotus. It cannot be doubted, moreover, that the time spent in reading these historical works would generally be more than saved by their aid as a commentary to the Greek text, while the increased interest which they would awaken might often change the study from a task to a pleasure.

It is of course impossible in notes like these to give special credit for every remark which is wholly or partly borrowed. The Editors must therefore express, once for all, their obligations to the long and familiar line of commentators on Xenophon and Herodotus, and last, not least, to Grote, from whose notes many valuable hints have been derived. The map of the march of the Ten Thousand Greeks in this volume is copied chiefly

from Kiepert's map in Rehdantz's *Anabasis* (1873); the smaller maps are generally reduced from larger ones in Kiepert's "*Atlas von Hellas*."

In the extracts from Xenophon, the chapters and sections are numbered as they are in recent editions. The selections from Herodotus are divided into new sections as they stand, and numbered accordingly; but the numbers of the original book and chapter with which the right-hand page of the present text ends are given at the top of the page.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April, 1877.

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# XENOPHON.

## I. ANABASIS.

### BOOK FIRST.

I. Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτενε τελευταίην τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τὸν παῖδα ἀμφοτέρῳ παρῆναι. 2. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρείος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρης διαβύλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κύρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. 4. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσαςτις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξην. 5. ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. 6. τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζειν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτό-

μενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἀνδρας Πελοποννήσιους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. 7. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κύρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. 8. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα νέμπων ἡξίον ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνῃ ἀρχεῖν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἤσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνῃ δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων. 9. ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τοῦτῃ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κύρος ἡγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικοὺς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντον οἰκούσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἑλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρε-

φόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. 10. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἕξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευέσθαι. οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. 11. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πρύγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιὸν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως οὗτοι.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἦκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἦκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅποσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. 2. ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μιλητον πολιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾗ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπείθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ

αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. 3. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. 4. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἱππέις ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. 5. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὠρμάτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρά δὲ ἐπὴν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. 6. τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσὰς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. 7. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινὰς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ρεῖ



δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. 8. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἔστιν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά· ἵ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. 9. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταυτί τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θυράκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρα. 11. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλέον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλὰκίς ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπῆτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον ἔχοντα

μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. **12.** ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κῦρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κῶρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ. **13.** ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἶνω κεράσας αὐτήν. **14.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. **15.** ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. **16.** ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλανον τεταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κρᾶνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοὺς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας. **17.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προείπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσύλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θᾶπτον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ,

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. 18. τῶν δὲ βαρβύρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἤσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδὼν. 19. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασύγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς πολεμίαν οὔσαν. 20. ἐντεῦθεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δύνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. 21. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Σύνενεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμειναν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Σύνενεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἤσθητο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἦδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. 22. Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς οὐ οἱ

Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαιναν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγγρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

23. καταβάς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμούς τέτταρας παρασύγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Σευενέσιος βασιλεία τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων.

24. ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικούντες μετὰ Σευενέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκούντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσοῖς.

25. Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Σευενέσιος γυνὴ πρότερά Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπίλται.

26. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἤκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὀλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Σεύενεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι ἤθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστει ἔλαβε.

27. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Σεύενεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππων χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινύ-

κην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀφαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδρίποδα, ἣν που ἐν-  
τυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

III. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴ-  
κοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεναι τοῦ πρόσω·  
ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἵεναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρα-  
τιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἵεναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἐβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑπο-  
ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐεναι. 2. Κλέαρχος δὲ  
τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δὲ  
ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυναίσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-  
σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε  
πολὺν χρόνον ἐστώς· οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-  
πων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. 3. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ  
θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παρούσι πράγμασιν.  
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κύρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πα-  
τρίδος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς·  
οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
καθηδυνάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔδαπάνων. 4. καὶ πρῶτον  
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θράκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαί-  
νων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Ἑλληνας  
τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κύρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευό-  
μην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον  
ὑπ' ἐκείνου. 5. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι,  
ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι  
ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευδάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἵεναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ  
δίκαια ποιήσω, οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν  
ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. καὶ οὐποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐγὼ  
Ἑλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλ-  
ληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην. 6. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ



ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἐθέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπασθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν ἔφθομαι καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δέῃ πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς  
 ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμύχους, καὶ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ᾧ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος  
 ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὐτ'  
 ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὥς ἐμοῦ σὺν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς,  
 οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε. 7. ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιώ-  
 ται οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι  
 οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξε-  
 νίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχιλίοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα  
 καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.  
 8. Κύρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμ-  
 πετο τὸν Κλεάρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λύθρα δὲ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὥς  
 καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ'  
 ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. 9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελ-  
 θόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιούδε.  
 Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς  
 ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε  
 ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. 10. ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι  
 νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ  
 οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυρόμενος ὅτι σύν-  
 οἶδα ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐφεισμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς  
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὧν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἠδικῆσθαι.  
 11. ἐμοὶ σὺν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμ-  
 λεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ  
 τούτων. καὶ ἔως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ  
 εἶναι ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν, εἴ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι,  
 ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν·

ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. 12. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρώμεν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὃ τι τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. 13. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομίτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύτες οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. 14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὥς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὥς ἀποπλέοιεν· εἰν δὲ μὴ διδῶ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· εἰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφόμενους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρωπακότες. οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσούτον. 15. Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσονται ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνωρῶ δέ ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλῃσθε πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. 16. μετὰ τούτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὥς εὐθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι

πιστεύομεν ὃν ἂν Κύρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν  
 κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; 17. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖην  
 μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς  
 ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ᾧ δοίη  
 ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν.  
 βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκουτος ἀπὼν Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελ-  
 θών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυ-  
 αρίας εἶναι. 18. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον  
 οὔτινες ἐπιτήδειοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον τί βούλεται  
 ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἷαπερ  
 καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ  
 κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων. 19. ἔαν  
 δὲ μείζων ἡ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα  
 καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα, ἀξιούν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἢ πει-  
 σθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν  
 φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς  
 ἂν ἀπιοίμεν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγῃ ἀναγγεῖλαι δεῦρο·  
 ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι. 20. ἔδοξε  
 ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἱ  
 ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο  
 ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ πο-  
 ταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν  
 ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρή-  
 ζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἣν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα  
 βουλευσόμεθα. 21. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοὶ ἀναγ-  
 γέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι  
 ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεσθαι. προσαιτούσι  
 δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμίολιον πᾶσι δώσειν  
 οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαιρικά τοῦ μη-  
 νὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα  
 ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἔν γε τῷ φανερῷ.

IV. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμὸν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμὸν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασύγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἴσσοις, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. 2. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρῆσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθυγόρου Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγήετο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἐτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τιwsαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. 3. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετέπεμπτos ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουσι παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. 4. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Σύνενσεις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακὴ, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κύρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. 5. ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις

πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσῃν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλαυνεν, ἔχων, ὥς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιῶς. Θ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυριάνδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. Ζ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτά· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς στρατηγὸς καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθήμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὥς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὥς ἀπιόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πύλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἶα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκοι αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο ὥς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ᾤκτειρον εἰ ἀλώσοιντο. Σ. Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν. Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπη οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὥς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἰόντων, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήφονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἕνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς. Θ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τέτταρας παρα-  
 σάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος  
 πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ  
 Σύριοι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, οὐδὲ τὰς περι-  
 στεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν,  
 εἰς ζώνην δεδομένοι. 10. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς  
 πέντε παρασάγγας τριάντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δύρδατος  
 ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέ-  
 σσος βασιλεία τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πᾶν  
 μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι. Κύρος δ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. 11. ἐντεῦθεν  
 ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ  
 τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων·  
 καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος  
 ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κύρος μετα-  
 πεμφάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ  
 ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κε-  
 λεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν  
 ἔπεισθαι. 12. οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον  
 ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ  
 ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφα-  
 σαν ἵεναι, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
 προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύ-  
 ρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ  
 πατρὸς Κύρου. 13. ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλο-  
 ν· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου  
 μνᾶς ἐπὶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῇ  
 μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ  
 μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέισθη. Μένων δὲ,  
 πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότε-  
 ρον ἔψονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα  
 γυρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. 14. Ἄνδρες, ἐὰν μοι

πεισθήτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δέεται Κύρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. 15. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἔπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κύρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλου οὐτινος ἂν δέσθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κύρου. 16. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπέειθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κύρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἤσθητο διαβεβηκότας, ἤσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κύρον νομίζετε. 17. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 18. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο περὶ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖόν κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσονται. 19. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνούνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαί, μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἔπεισιν ἑτάσαντο.

**V.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πληθύνες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὴν ὕλης ἢ καλύμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνὴν. **Β.** θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θάττον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρῶν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. **Γ.** στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεσπᾶτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἶρουσα ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν. **Δ.** πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμὸν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλῳ. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. **Ε.** ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαίδεκα παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπαντα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιούντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγορί-



ζουτες σίτον ἔζων. 6. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σίτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κῦρου βαρβαρικῷ τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει, κρέα οὖν ἐσθίουντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. 7. ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πᾶν μακροὺς ἤλανυν, ὅποτε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεῖτου, ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοὺν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ, συνεκβιβύζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. 8. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδυσ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστηκώς, ἔντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρानοὺς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλους ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θάττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. 9. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν θάττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσούτῳ πλεον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλῆθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὔσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. 10. πέραν

δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδιαίως διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἅς εἶχον σκεπάσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνήγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτον μελήνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον. 11. ἀμφιλεξάντων δὲ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλέαρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλέαρχῳ. 12. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κύρος δὲ οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι προσήλαινε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις, ὥς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἔησι τῇ ἀξίῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοὶ, κραυγῆς γενομένης. 13. ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μείναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι Θρᾶκες, ἤλαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕστασαν ἀπορούντες τῷ πράγματι. 14. ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιῶν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων

ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἰδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέπαινεν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πρῶως λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. 15. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κύρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρῶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παρούσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. 16. Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμὲ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὗς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. 17. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

VI. Ἐντεῦθεν προϋόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνη ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϋόντες ἔκαον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρόντας δὲ Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας καταλλαγεὶς δέ. 2. οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίῃ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακάοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ κάειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. 3. ὁ δ' Ὁρόντας, νομίσας ἐτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἤξιοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεύσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιόν αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ

ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστewe. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾤετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. 4. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνὴν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. 5. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἴσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξήλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. ἔφη δὲ Κύρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. 6. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος, ὃ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, 7. μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἡδίκησα; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κύρος ἡρώτα, Οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίηεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω; ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ὅπότε αὐτὸς ἐγὼς τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντας. 8. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι οὐδὲν

ἀδικηθεῖς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὸν, Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι; Ἡ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος, Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κύρε, σοί γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. 9. πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλευῶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον ἐκποδὼν ποιέισθαι ὡς τίχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέη τούτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τούτον εἶναι τοὺς ἐβελοντὰς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. 10. ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἴτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. 11. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἴκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

VII. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιείται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἤξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιῷ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θεττιλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. 2. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον

Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλεύετό τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοίτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήναι θαρρύνων τοιῦδε. **Β.** ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβύρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνους καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβύρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ. **Γ.** ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδήτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ κραυγὴ πολλῇ ἐπίαςιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνίσχησθε, τᾶλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαί μοι δοκῶ οἶους ἡμῖν γνῶσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὐτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσιν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι. **Δ.** ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρὼν φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κῦρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνεῖ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος. ἂν δὲ εὖ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαί σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' εἰ μεμνήῳ τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνεῖ. **Ε.** ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἢ πατρίδα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. **Σ.** ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὖ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέ-

φανον ἐκάστῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω. 8. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. εἰσῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς, ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται ἂν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιμπλὺς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. 9. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ᾧδὲ πως ἤρετο τὸν Κύρον. Οἶε γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος ἔστι παῖς ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. 10. ἐν ταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρον βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. 11. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. 12. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐναντικοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. 13. ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. 14. ἐντεύθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾧδε γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα·

κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυαὶ τρεῖς. 15. παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασύγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. ἔνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσai· εἰσὶ δὲ τέταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγί· εἰσβύλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν. ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος. 16. ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπεὶδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελάνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. 17. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερά ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. 18. ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρας θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρήλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. 19. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κῦρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. 20. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἤγετο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

VIII. Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν καὶ πλη-



σίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἥνικα Πατηγίνας ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρον πιστῶν προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδρύνοντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. 2. ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς τύραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπείσθαι. 3. Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδυν καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίσσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. 4. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφρύτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτων, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. 5. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν. 6. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τούτου ἥσον ἐξακόσιοι ὥπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. 7. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. 8. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἥνικα δὲ δεῖλῃ ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλῃ λευκῇ, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τύξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. 9. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων

ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γεροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπίσται  
 σὺν ποδίηρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέ-  
 γοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεις, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ'  
 οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ  
 ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. 10. πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα  
 συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον  
 δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλῆγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ  
 ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφοροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐν-  
 τυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων ἐλῶντα καὶ διακόψοντα. 11. ὁ μέντοι Κύρος εἶπεν ὅτε  
 καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ  
 σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσήσαν.  
 12. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι  
 τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα  
 ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ  
 βασιλεὺς εἶη· καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πᾶνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται.  
 13. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύ-  
 ρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσούτον  
 γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων  
 τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ  
 ἤθελεν ἀποσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρα, φο-  
 βούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρί-  
 νατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. 14. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῆει,  
 τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένῳ συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν  
 ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύνων οὐ πᾶν πρὸς  
 αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς  
 τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. 15. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας ὡς συναντή-  
 σαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέ-

γειν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφύγια καλὰ. **16.** ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν ὅτι τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, **ΖΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ.** **17.** ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἀκούσας Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλανε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στῦδια διειχέτην τὴν φύλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. **18.** ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φύλαγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἰόνπερ τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. **19.** πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβῶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. **20.** τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδείς οὐδὲν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο. **21.** Κύρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπείραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑταροσύνην ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ἤδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. **22.** καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσιν

ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγούνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφα-  
 λεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἢ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι  
 παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ  
 στράτευμα. 23. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἕξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου  
 κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ  
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύ-  
 κλωσιν. 24. ἔνθα δὴ Κύρος δέισας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος  
 κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν  
 τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς  
 φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτείνει λέγεται αὐ-  
 τὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. 25. ὥς  
 δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι εἰς  
 τὸ διώκειν ὁρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατε-  
 λείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. 26. σὺν τού-  
 τοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στῖφος· καὶ  
 εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν Τὸν ἀνδραὶ ὄρω, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος,  
 ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι.  
 27. παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλ-  
 μὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύ-  
 ρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρου, ὅποσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ  
 βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν·  
 Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 28. Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος  
 αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα  
 εἶδε Κύρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.  
 29. καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεῦσαι τινα ἐπισφάζαι αὐ-  
 τὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν  
 ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτόν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ  
 ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

**ΙΧ.** Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὥς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. **Β.** πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν, οὗτ' ἐπαιδύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. **Β.** πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὗτ' ἀκούσαι οὗτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. **4.** θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. **5.** ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδομένεστάτος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. **6.** ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. **7.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμβθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῃ σπείσαιοτο καὶ εἴ τῃ συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῃ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. **8.** καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισασμένου Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς

σπονδὰς παθεῖν. 9. τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι Κύρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ, ὅτι οὐκ ᾔθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. 10. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους γένοιτο ἔτι δὲ κύκλιον πράξειαν. 11. φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ, εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὡς εὖχοιτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. 12. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι. 13. οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι ὡς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῖν, ἀλλ' ἄφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅποι τις ᾔθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ τι προχωροίη. 14. τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσοὺς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἐώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα. 15. ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστατούς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦσθαι εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κύρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. 16. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἰ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ πάντος ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. 17. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε

πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ οὐ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλέω-  
τερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος.  
**18.** ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετή-  
σειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν.  
τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπέρται παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέ-  
χθησαν γενέσθαι. **19.** εἰ δέ τινα ὀρῶν δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονό-  
μον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας  
καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ'  
αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρρα-  
λέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὃ ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς ἤκιστα Κύρον ἔκρυπτεν·  
οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ  
πειρώμενος χρήσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι.  
**20.** φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὖνους γνοίῃ ὄντας  
καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ τι τυγχάνοι βουλό-  
μενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος  
δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. **21.** καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ  
αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ  
αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου  
ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. **22.** δῶρα δὲ πλεί-  
στα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς γε ὧν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ  
πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους  
ἐκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρῶν ἕκαστον δεόμενον.  
**23.** καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ ὥς εἰς  
πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν  
αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τού-  
τοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέ-  
γιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζει. **24.** καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα  
νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν, ἐπεὶδὴ γε  
καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων

καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. 25. Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις ὅποτε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίωνι οἶνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τούτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τούτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς. 26. πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἡμβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα, Τούτοις ἦσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι. 27. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τούτον τὸν χιλὸν, ὥς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. 28. εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖ ὅς τις τιμᾷ. ὥστε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. 29. τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τὸδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπῆγε πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κῦρῳ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κῦρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κῦρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. 30. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. 31. ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀραιοῦ· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ ἄρχων· ὥς δ' ἦσθετο Κῦρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὐ ἡγεῖτο.



**Χ.** Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ὥρμητο· τέτταρες δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασύγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ. **2.** βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. **3.** ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. **4.** ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. **5.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάσσεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας, πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιεν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρῆξοντες. **6.** ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσιών πάλιν ὡς ἐδόκει ὕπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἣ δὲ παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. **7.** ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρ-

νης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. 8. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πύλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πύλιν συνταξίμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. 9. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσύγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμὸν. 10. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φύλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνῆι. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆρσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. 11. οἱ δ' αὖ βύρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφηνγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κώμης τινός· 12. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνατεταμένον. 13. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. 14. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Δύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ

ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. 15. καὶ ὁ Δύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. 16. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἷχεσθαι ἢ καταληφόμενόν τι προσεληλακέναι. 17. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορπηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. 18. ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλείστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμύξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ τετρακόσiai ὥς ἐλέγοντο ἅμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. 19. ὥστε ἄδειπνοὶ ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνύριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγέγοντο.

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 BOOK SECOND.

I. Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἡθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῇ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες

οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι ση-  
μανοῦντα ὃ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν  
αὐτοῖς συσκευασμένοις ἅ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισμένοις προῖ-  
έναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἕως Κίρῳ συμμίξειαν. 3. ἤδη δὲ ἐν  
ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίφ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρα-  
νίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λύκωνος, καὶ  
Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῶ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν,  
'Αριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῇ σταθμῇ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραιᾷ ὥρμηντο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύ-  
την μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν αὐτοὺς, εἰ μέλλοιεν  
ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἱπὶ 'Ιωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε.  
4. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες  
πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τὰδε εἶπεν,  
'Ἀλλ' ὥφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγ-  
γέλλετε 'Αριαίφ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καὶ ὡς ὁρᾶτε  
οὐδεὶς ἐτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα  
ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ 'Αριαίφ, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε  
ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείου καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ  
μάχῃ νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. 5. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπο-  
στέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσφον τὸν Λά-  
κωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων  
ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος 'Αριαίου. 6. οἱ μὲν  
ᾤχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορί-  
ζετο σίτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς  
βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ  
τῆς φάλαγγος οὗ ἡ μάχῃ ἐγένετο τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς  
οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομο-  
λούντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέροισι καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι  
ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ  
ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα  
ἔψοντες ἦσθιον ἐκείνῃ τὴν ἡμέραν. 7. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ

πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἣν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἑλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. 8. οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. 9. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τα ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. 10. ἔνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὦν ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῖεν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλίνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, εἰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται. 11. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικῶν ἡγείται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρα καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβύτων καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι. 12. μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὁρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετῇ. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι,

παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ  
 οὖν οἷου τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδῶσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα.  
 13. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλίνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ  
 φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα·  
 ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περι-  
 γενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως. 14. ἄλλους δέ τινας  
 ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ  
 ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοὶ ἄξιοι γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιο  
 φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ'  
 Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ. 15. ἐν  
 τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι  
 εἶεν. Φαλίνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὐτοὶ μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε,  
 ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. 16. ὁ δ'  
 εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φαλίνε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι πάντες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλληνας εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι  
 ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὀρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμ-  
 βουλευομένῳ σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. 17. σὺ οὖν  
 πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ κύλλιστον καὶ  
 ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον  
 λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλίνος ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλείῳς κε-  
 λεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι συμβουλευο-  
 μένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τὰδε. οἶσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη  
 λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἅ ἂν συμβουλευσῃς. 18. ὁ δὲ  
 Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὶ  
 βασιλείας πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλευσαὶ μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ  
 ὄπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλίνος  
 δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, 19. Ἐγὼ, εἰ  
 μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολε-  
 μούντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλευῶ μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὄπλα· εἰ  
 δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βασιλείως,

συμβουλευώ σῶζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπη δυνατόν. **20.** Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ; εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. **21.** ὁ δὲ Φαλίνος εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. **22.** Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτ' αὖτε δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλίνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος· Ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαὶ, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. **23.** ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτ' αὖτε ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ἢ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμηνε.

**II.** Φαλίνος μὲν δὴ ὥχεται καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μὴ, αὐτὸς πρῶ ἀπιέναι φησίν. **2.** ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν· εἴαν μὲν ἡκώμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πρῶττετε ὁποῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴσθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. **3.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἡδὴ ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένην ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά· καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἢ μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμὸς ἐστί ναυσί-

πορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πῦνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. 4. ὧδε οὖν χρή ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. 5. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλθον καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὀρώντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. 6. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μύχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνεήκοντα, παρασύγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μύχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. 7. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκίθης μὲν ὁ Θρᾶξ ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππίας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὥς τριακοσίους ἡντομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. 8. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγείτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνούνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειεν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσασθαι ἀδόλως. 9. ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ κύπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βύπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι λόγχην. 10. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεί-



περ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢ ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω. **11.** ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἡλθομεν ἀπιόντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτῳ οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἴοντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἵχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπάνησαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπισοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. **12.** πορευτίον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὥς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.

**13.** Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν.

**14.** ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἵππείας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθρον· καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτήρωτο, καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἳ σὺν αὐτῷ.

**15.** ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἤκον λέγοντες οἳ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιτο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμας οὐ πρόσω.

**16.** Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἤγεν· ἥδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἥδη δὲ καὶ ὁψέ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος

μὴ δοκοίῃ φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυσ-  
 μένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκή-  
 νωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος  
 καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. 17. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρώτοι  
 ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι  
 προσιόντες ὥς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ἠγλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν  
 πολλὴν ἐποιοῦν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ  
 ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. 18. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστε-  
 ραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε  
 στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγῃ δὲ,  
 ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἰφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδή-  
 λωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. 19. προΐουσης  
 μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φόβος ἐμπίπτει,  
 καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγ-  
 νεσθαι. 20. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείων, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν  
 ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπίειν  
 ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχον-  
 τες, ὅς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψε-  
 ται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. 21. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη,  
 ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη καὶ οἱ ἄρχον-  
 τες σῶσι. ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν  
 τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

III. Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγῃ τῇ ἐφόδῳ,  
 τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ  
 ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι  
 κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. 2. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς  
 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγ-  
 γελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις  
 ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περι-  
 μένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολώσῃ. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν,

τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐσπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτ' ἔφρασεν. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. 5. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον. 6. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλυνον, καὶ ἤκον ταχύ· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς ποῦ βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις ᾧ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἤκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες οἱ αὐτοὺς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γίνωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξυσσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 7. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δὲ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μετασθησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ἥσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. 9. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰπιτήδεια. 10. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τύφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτω-

κότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. 11. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξειν. 12. καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. 13. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἥδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλησι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. 14. πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. 15. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βύλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιαι τοῦ κάλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἥ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρου οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. 16. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγὲς. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαίρεθει ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος αὐαίνετο.

17. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δούλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιαύδε. 18. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλύδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς

εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κάμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποίησάμην εἰ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. **19.** ταῦτα δὲ γνούς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμικτα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμέτερῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρβίρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. **20.** καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευέσθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπριακτότερον ἢ ἂν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. **21.** πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὥς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὗρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺ εἶοιθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀναγάγοι. **22.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. **23.** ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὔτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἕνεκα βουλοίμεθ' ἂν τὴν βασιλείῳ χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικούντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἔαν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιῶντες. **24.** ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τιτσαφέρης

ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τε παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. 25. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πᾶν πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσάμενους. 26. τέλος δὲ εἶπε, Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 27. ὑμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσυνῶς σίτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὁπότεν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν· ἣν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνουμένους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. 28. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 29. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαπρίξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἤξω συσκευασόμενος ὡς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱμαντοῦ ἀρχήν.

IV. Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. 2. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦτον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλεέρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς, 3. Τί

μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιοτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι φόβος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀλίσθη αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. 4. ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτειχίζει, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. 5. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἀπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθύς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελεῖψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. 6. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέη ἵππεις εἰσιν ἡμῖν σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεις εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἷόν τε σωθῆναι. 7. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιρκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἑλλήσι τε καὶ βαρβύροις. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. 9. ἐν τεύθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένῳ καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέ-

χοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντα καὶ συνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. 10. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ μείον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. 11. ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε. 12. διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον εἰσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ φκοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῃ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. 13. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τέφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοὶ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἥ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. 14. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. 15. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὄπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἡρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐξήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὧν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένον. 16. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν



ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαίος καὶ Ἀρτάοξος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στρατεύμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. **17.** καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λύσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτὸς, εἰς δύνηται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. **18.** ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν αὐτῷ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. **19.** νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιθῆσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολυλαὶ γέφυραι ᾧσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. **20.** εἰ δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθήσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. **21.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. **22.** τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψειαν, ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείνειαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐόντων· εἰτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιτο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. **23.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὁμῶς φυλακὴν ἐπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. **24.** ἐπειδὴ δ' ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέ-

φυραν ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὡς οἶόν τε μύλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γύρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσασθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδὴ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ὑπελαύνων.

25. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρον· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾠκεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ἢ ὄνομα Ὀπις· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐθεώρει. 26. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγήετο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσον δὲ χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαι πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσην ἐκπεπλήχθαι θεωροῦντα. 27. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἑρτήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κόμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης, Κύρω ἐπεγγελῶν, διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνὴν δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. 28. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἑρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν ἐν ἁριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καίναϊ, ἕξ ἧς οἱ βύρβαροι διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυροὺς, οἶνον.

V. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερὰ δὲ οὐδεμία

ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. 3. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, εἴ πως δύναίτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψέ τινα ἐρῶντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν. 3. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθῆσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινουοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοὶ ἰλθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ δυναίμεθα ἐξέλκοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. 5. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. 6. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι ἤκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὥς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. 7. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὄρκιοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σὺ νοοῖεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὔποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. 8. περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὕτω γινώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. 9. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός· ἔν ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος,

πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἑρμμία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ὑπορίας ἐστίν. 10. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλείᾳ τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. 11. ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρου ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιο· σέ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείᾳς δύναμιν, ἣ Κύρος πολεμιά ἔχρητο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὖσαν. 12. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεταί σοι φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σέ βουλήσασθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. 13. οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνύμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παύσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα αἰετὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γυγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῖα δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. 14. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς περίξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο τῷ φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπότης ἂν ἀναστρέφοιο, ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρετάς, οἳ σοι οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἣν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. 15. ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σέ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τοῦνομα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων ὥς ἡμεῖς σοὶ ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.

16. Ἀλλ' ἥδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βου-

λεύους, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἂν μάθῃς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. **17.** εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως ἐν ᾗ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; **18.** ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδείων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁράτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἕξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἅπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσούτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἕξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. **19.** εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ᾧ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύνασθε. **20.** πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσούτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τούτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβῆς, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρὸς; **21.** παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιорκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. **22.** ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἕξον ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἤλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἕρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. **23.** ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἕξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχει.

24. Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῇ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἷτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβύλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἀξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν; 25. Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἷ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεί, λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὥς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. 26. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω. 27. ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάνυ φιλικῶς οἴομενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκείνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἵεναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβύλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. 28. ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγεννημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ἦ Τισσαφέρνει. 29. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἵεναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνει. 30. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἵεναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγοὺς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὥς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὥς διακόσιοι.

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων Θετταλὸς, Ἀγίας Ἀρκὰς, Κλέαρχος Λύκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοῦ· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. 32. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τ' ἔνδον συν-

ελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ᾤφτινι ἐν-  
 τυγχάνοιεν Ἑλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον.  
 33. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τήν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου ὀρώντες καὶ ὃ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφεγνόουν, πρὶν Νί-  
 καρχος Ἀρκὺς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ  
 ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα.  
 34. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες  
 ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἦξιεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον. 35. οἱ δὲ πῖντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀρτάξος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρου πιστότατοι·  
 ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελ-  
 φὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀρᾶν καὶ γινγνώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. 36. οὗτοι  
 ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἷη τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγὸς, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλῃσι τὰ παρὰ βασι-  
 λέως. 37. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμ-  
 φίλιος, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ  
 περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγγανεν ἀπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ  
 σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. 38. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον,  
 εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τῷδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ  
 ἐπιωρκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ  
 τέθηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄπλα  
 ἀπαιτεῖ· ἐαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν, ἐπεὶ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ  
 ἐκείνου δούλου. 39. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες,  
 ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος· ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων  
 Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε  
 οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐ-  
 τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τις-  
 σαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τούς τε ἄνδρας

αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προ-  
 δεδωκότες σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε ; 40. ὁ δὲ  
 Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς  
 ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν  
 τούτοις. 41. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφῶν τῷδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν  
 τοῖνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυσεν τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει·  
 δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιорκοῦντας· Πρόξενος δὲ  
 καὶ Μένων ἐπεὶ περ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ  
 στρατηγοὶ, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε  
 ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα  
 συμβουλευσαί. 42. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον  
 διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπήλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

VI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνῆχθησαν  
 ὥς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελευτήσαν, εἰς  
 μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπεί-  
 ρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ  
 φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. 2. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν  
 τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὥς οἱ Θρᾶκες ὑδι-  
 κοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὥς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὥς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ  
 Περίνθου Θραξίν. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη  
 ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ,  
 ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὥχεται πλέων εἰς Ἑλλάσπον-  
 τον. 4. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ  
 τελῶν ὥς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον,  
 καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κύρον ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι  
 δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυρίους δαρεικούς· 5. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 ῥαθυμίᾳ ἐτρώπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέ-  
 ξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο  
 μέχρι Κύρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπήλθεν ὥς



σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσων. 6. ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἀνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκείνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· 7. πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὥς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν. 8. καὶ ἄρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὥς δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου οἶον κάκεινος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἡ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς παρούσιν ὥς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. 9. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζε τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, 10. ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἵναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. 11. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡρουντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε παιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο· 12. ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὡμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. 13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἑλὶα μὲν καὶ εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οὔτινες δὲ ἢ

ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρείησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἐχρήτο.

14. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.

15. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μύλα ἐθέλαιν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελευτα ἄμφι τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

16. Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὦν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίᾳ ὑργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ.

17. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά· 18. τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθύμῳ σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἀνευ δὲ τούτων μή.

19. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμπροῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνων· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερόν τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. 20. ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστω ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἑτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

21. Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δηλὸς ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίη

δίκην. 22. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομω-  
 τάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιiorκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ  
 ἔξαπατᾶν· τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθές τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι.  
 23. στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος  
 εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου  
 μὲν οὐδεὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς κατα-  
 γελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. 24. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτή-  
 μασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν  
 φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ᾤετο εἶ-  
 δέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. 25. καὶ ὅσους μὲν  
 αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμένους ἐφο-  
 βεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκούσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις  
 ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. 26. ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεο-  
 σεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο  
 τῷ ἔξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους  
 διαγελᾶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμι-  
 ζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχειρεῖ πρωτεύειν φιλία, δια-  
 βάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι. 27. τὸ  
 δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδι-  
 κεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου  
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλείστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν.  
 εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἠφίστατο, ὅτι  
 χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. 28. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τὰδ'  
 ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίπῳ μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὧν στρατηγεῖν διε-  
 πράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μειρακίους  
 καλοῖς ᾔδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὧν ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παι-  
 δικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὧν γενειῶντα. 29. ἀποθησκόν-  
 των δὲ τῶν συστρατῆγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ σὺν  
 Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποικῶς οὐκ ἀπέθανε. μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων  
 θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ  
 ὥσπερ Ἰλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς

κεφαλᾶς, ὅσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαντὸν ὥς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευταίας τυχῆιν.

30. Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέντην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατέγελα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦστην δὲ ἄμφω ἄμφι τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

### BOOK THIRD.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβίσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορία ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλύδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διείργον ὑδιύβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ, προὔδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβιάντες βίρβαροι, μόνοι δὲ καταλειμμένοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ ἵππέα, οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη. 3. ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἤλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανε ἐκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεῦδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὦν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν, ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσῃν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναιγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακρινούται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπαίτιον εἶη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφούς ἀνακρινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπῆρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω, τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κύλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πρίξας σωθεῖν. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιάτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα, πότερον λῶν εἶη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖν. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐξέπλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κύρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου, καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροϋθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψῃ αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. 10. ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ᾗδῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι

ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ ἄκοντες, ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφὼν ἦν. 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν. μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. 12. περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. 13. ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ ταῦδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· Τί κατὰκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἄμ, δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν. εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόοντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; 14. ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἂν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις.

15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένους πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἷσις ἐσμέν. 16. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμοι δηλὸν ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν

πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἐαυτῶν παρέσκευασθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελείται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. **17.** καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πύρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὡς δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; **18.** ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισύμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παρύσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. **19.** Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε ἐπαυόμεν ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτείρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθήτα δέ. **20.** τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἥδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. **21.** ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἀθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν, ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἔσονται. **22.** οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὀρώντες ἀγαθὰ, στεργῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις.

23. Ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψυχὴ καὶ θάλλη καὶ πόρους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἣν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. 24. ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ὑρετὴν. φύνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. 25. κἀγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τῷττετέ με ἡγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑκμίζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.

26. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιῷζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλεία πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὴν ὑπορίαν. 27. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ὁ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύ γε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταῦτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. 28. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι, ἐλθόντες παρεσκευήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; 29. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἂ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι



καλεύοντας φлуαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν καλεύεις ἰόντας ; 30. ἐμοὶ δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκευὴ ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιοῦτ' ἔχρησθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληνας ὡς τοιοῦτός ἐστιν. 31. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτ' γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Ἀνδρᾶν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὦτα τετραπημένον. καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. 32. τούτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν.

33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνήλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. 34. ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σὺ, ὦ Ξενοφών, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. 35. ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφών. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν διὰ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνάθησαν συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὡς ἦν δύνωνται ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὡς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάρους γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. 36. εὐτοίμην ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνηλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται

οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρώσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἦν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔφονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσσονται μμείσθαι. 37. ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἔστε στρατηγοὶ, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ἦν ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοῖσιν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιούν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προποεῖν, ἦν που δέη. 38. καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα οὐῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τύχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ὑρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελάντι εἶπευ, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. 39. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνετε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πῦν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. 40. νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακίας· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. 41. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται τί πείσονται ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. 42. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλήθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιούσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. 43. ἐντεθύμημαι ὃ ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁπόσοι

μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους; καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διαύγοντας. 44. ἂ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμεν, αὐτούς τε ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.

45. 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος. 'Αλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλομένην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἡδὴ αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἦκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ. 47. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνονται τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳν Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκὰς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιοὺς, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκου οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνήλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. 2. Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν,

πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ὑμφὶ Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς· 3. ὁμῶς δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως ἢ μὲν δυνώμεθα καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν. 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἀλλ' ὁράτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφερνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὺς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχω καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κύρον τεθνηκοτα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζώντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. 6. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κρίναι, τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοίην οἱ θεοὶ, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. 8. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν

λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μὲν ὁρμὴν προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ἠῤῥξαντο καὶ ἐπαϊάνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐπιωρκήκασιν τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμύχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι, σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. 11. ἔπειτα δὲ, ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.

12. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους κατακάνουσιν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῇ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὄραν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύρων ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. 14. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς κατασχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὔπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐγγόνους πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. 15. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγῶοί· νῦν δ', ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. 16. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ, ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλᾶσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβίσθαι; 17. Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο ἡμῶν δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίωνές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δ' ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὄραν. 18. Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἰππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρειςιν, ἐνθυμή-

θητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοι εἰσιν ἀνθρω-  
 ποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδείς πώποτε οὔτε  
 δηγθεῖς οὔτε λακτισθεῖς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ  
 ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. 19. οὐκ οὖν  
 τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν·  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκό-  
 τες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἣν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ  
 δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῳ  
 προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν  
 ἐστὶν ἢ ἡμῖν. 20. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι  
 δὲ οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς  
 ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρείττον·  
 Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός  
 ἐστίν, ἢ οὗς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν,  
 οἳ εἰσονται ὅτι, ἣν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς  
 ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. 21. τὰ δὲ  
 ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς  
 οὗτοι παρεῖχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο  
 ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἣν περ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ  
 χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἔκαστος βούληται. 22. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον  
 νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβύν-  
 τεσ, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν  
 οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοὶ, ἣν καὶ πρόσθω τῶν  
 πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προιούσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ  
 γίνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. 23. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ  
 ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμόν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ'  
 ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσσοῦς, οὗς οὐκ  
 ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἳ βασιλέως ἄκοιτος ἐν  
 τῇ βασιλείῳ χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας

πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, *Λυκάονας* δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἔρμυνά καταλαμβάνοντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρπούνται. 24. καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὥρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντος. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειε γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταυτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μὴ, ἂν ἄπαξ μύθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γυναῖξί καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκός καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πείνονται, ἔξον αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὁρᾶν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. 27. Τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθί τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δέοι, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὗτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. 28. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἢ ὡς πλείστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια·



ἥν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. **29.** Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. **30.** δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. **31.** ἥν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἥν ψηφίσῃσθε τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίου ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδεὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῷ εἶναι. **32.** Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὄρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἢ ἔργῳ περαίνεται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ, τολμῶτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῇ σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

**33.** Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινας ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἶρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. **34.** Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. **35.** οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι — ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἥν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας

φεύγουσιν — εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. **36.** ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὴν σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾗ. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖν τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι ἔλθοιεν βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρώμεσθ' ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. **37.** εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίῳς ἐστὶ τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοῖσθαι· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ τε καὶ Τιμασίῳν, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. **38.** τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὃ τι ἂν ὑεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· "Ὅτ' ἂν δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. **39.** Νῦν τρίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.

**III.** Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηναῖς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδosan ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. ἡριστοποιοιμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὥς τριᾶκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς

ἐπῆκουσιν, λέγει ὧδε. 2. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνον καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τύδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἔνθα δὲ ἐγινγνώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνηνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστει ἕνεκα. 5. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὄχρετο ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προελλυθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἰππίας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὡς τετρακοσίους, μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. 7. καὶ προσῆι μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοὶ, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες

εἶσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύ-  
 τερα ἡκόντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. 8. ἐκ  
 τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν  
 τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπι-  
 σθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελύμβανον τῶν  
 πολεμίων. 9. οὔτε γὰρ ἵππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, οὔτε  
 οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο κατα-  
 λαμβίνειν ἐν ὀλίγῃ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. 10. οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι  
 ἵππεῖς, καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύ-  
 οντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅποσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἑλληνες,  
 τοσοῦτον πύλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. 11. ὥστε  
 τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι στα-  
 δίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. Ἐνθα δὴ πύλιν  
 ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρα-  
 τηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἡτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φύλαγγος  
 καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδεν μᾶλλον  
 ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. 12. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι  
 ὀρθῶς ἡτιῶντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. Ἄλλ'  
 ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἡναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ  
 μένειν κακῶς μὲν πύσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους.  
 13. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδίωκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς  
 μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους,  
 ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. 14. τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χίρις  
 ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε  
 βλιάσθαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι δὲ ὦν δεόμεθα. 15. νῦν  
 γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε  
 οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται, οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βύλλον-  
 τες ἐξικνεῖσθαι. ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ  
 οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῃ  
 δὲ, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη, πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλύβοι ἐκ

τόξου ῥύματος. 16. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. 17. ἐκεῖναι γὰρ, διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνούνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσιν ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. 18. ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. 19. Ὅρῳ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. 20. Καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

IV. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρῶαιτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβούντο μὴ ἐπιθόιντο αὐτοῖς διαβιύνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. 2. διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδῶσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ

πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ  
 δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβε-  
 βηκότες ἀπείχον τῆς χαρύδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέ-  
 βαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο  
 δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν,  
 καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εἴρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευγομένης  
 ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει,  
 καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμνηε τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο,  
 καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον  
 ἐπὶ τὴν χαρύδραν. 5. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις  
 τῶν τε πέζων ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ  
 χαρύδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀπο-  
 θανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι  
 φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὁρᾶν. 6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 πολέμιοι οὕτω πρύξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφα-  
 λῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Τύγρητα ποταμόν. 7. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη,  
 ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ᾠκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν  
 Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι  
 πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρα-  
 σώγαι· ᾠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρηπὶς δ'  
 ὑπὲρ λιθίνη, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. ταύτην βασιλεὺς  
 ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι,  
 πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ  
 προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ  
 οὕτως ἐάλω. 9. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς  
 λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέ-  
 θρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν  
 πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. 10. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθη-  
 σαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασύγγας ἕξ, πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημαν μέγα

πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ᾤκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. **11.** ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφοδόμητο πλίνθινον τείχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μῆδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. **12.** ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλείν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

**13.** Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπλου ἐφάνη. **14.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὅπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. **15.** ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάννυ προυθυμείτο ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει, καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. **16.** Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. **17.** μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς

Κρησὶ, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

18. Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βύρβαροι μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σίτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.

19. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἦν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἢ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὔσης, ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας. 20. ὅταν δ' αὖ δι᾿ αἰσχυρὰ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πύσχοντας, πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν, ἢ ἄλλην τινα διείβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκάτον ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτει τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι οἱ λοχαγοί, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. 22. ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, — εἰ μὲν στενωτέρον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντη



κοστὺς, εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε ἀεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. 23. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινα δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φύλαγος, ἐπιπαρήεσαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθήκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων. 25. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον καὶ κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βύρβαροι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδύνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων. 26. καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῶν, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς τῶν ὄπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. 27. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνούνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ταχὺ ἀπεπίδων. 28. πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 29. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοκότες μὴ ἀποτμηθεῖσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμοι. 30. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ

δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. **31.** ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

**32.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξίμενοι. **33.** ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολλὸν γὰρ διέφερον ἐκ χώρας ὀρμώντες ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευόμενοι ἐπιαῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. **34.** Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δεῖλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς. **35.** πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἳ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δεδενται, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν· εἷν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισύξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. **36.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίνγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκούοντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄψε ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκε

λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 37. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπionτας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες, καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίου. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφύνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παρίεναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατύβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον.

38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατελημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς, καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. 39. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελύσας ἡρώτα, τί καλεῖς; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; 40. ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἑδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὸ ὅπισθεν, πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλεύεσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. 41. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ λέγει· Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὡς τύχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μίνε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. 42. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ οἱ

συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐράς λαβεῖν.

43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμοι, ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον.

45. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων.

46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκελεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. 47. Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυνώνιος εἶπεν. Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχεῖ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω, τὴν ἵσπίδα φέρων. 48. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένοις. 49. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βύλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἕστε ἠνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε περὶ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

V. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ

ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὄχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβαίντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. ἥνικα δ' ἦν δειλὴ, ἐξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρην καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κάειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμυσάν τινας, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια, εἰ κάοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὀπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἥνικα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπύνησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὅρατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπρίττοντο, μὴ κάειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ κάουσιν ὡς ἄλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' εἴαν που καταλίπωσιν γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτίδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν. Οὐκ οὐν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, κάωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάπτον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρα-

κισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. 9. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίῳν δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἴγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ὑποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρήσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἄσκους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἄσκον λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἄφεις ὥσπερ ὑγύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μίλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἄσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει. 12. Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσαντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἰππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. 13. ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν [ἡ πρὸς Βαρυλῶνα] εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἐνθεν ἐξήσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθέωντο, καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θανμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῷ ἔχοιεν.

14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνήλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκύστη εἶη. 15. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἶη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἣσπερ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑὼ ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβίτανα φέροι, ἐνθι θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς· ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη, ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. 16. τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως

οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. 17. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκύθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναί, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἔδοκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. 18. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἥνικα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν, συσκευασαμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

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## BOOK FOURTH.

I Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐποίησαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. 2. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἔδοκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 3. ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων

ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἣν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται, ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλονται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. 4. τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθύσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.

5. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τῆνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως, πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 6. ἔνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγήετο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. 7. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δ' ὑψηγείτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων. 8. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδούχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἰ πως ἐβελήσειαν οἱ Καρδούχοι διμέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν. 9. τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γάρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου, ἤδη σκοταῖοι, — διὰ γὰρ τὸ



στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδόν, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατύβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας, — τότε δὴ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. **11.** εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἡλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὕρέων, καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. **12.** Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνεληθούσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἴδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τᾶλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφείναι. **13.** σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τὴν πορείαν, πολλὰ ὄντα, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

**14.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοὶ, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. **15.** εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγείτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὡπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφών. **16.** καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πύλιν ἀναχά-

ζοντες, σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμνὰ παρήγγελλον ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικείμεντο.

17. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἤγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἴη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλιξι. 18. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολύδος εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς, καὶ Βασίλης Ἀρκᾶς, διαμπερὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν. 19. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμὸν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ᾗτιᾶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε κύγαθ' ἄνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. 20. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ' αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁρᾶς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἐκβασιν. 21. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυναίμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. 22. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρείχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναν μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προῦθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσαιμεθα.

23. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες εἴ τινα εἶδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, μᾶλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἐτέρου

κατεσφύγη. 24. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγιάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. 25. ἐρωτώμενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. 26. Ἐν ταῦθα ἐδόκει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγούς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντὴς πορεύεσθαι. 27. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκᾶς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκᾶς, ἀντιστασιώζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλιμάχος Παρρῆσιος Ἀρκᾶς, καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔφονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγούμενου. 28. ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἀξίος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

II. Καὶ ἦν μὲν δαίλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμ-  
φαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παρα-  
διδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτι, ἣν λάβωσι  
τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλ-  
πιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἦνω ὄντας ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς  
κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν  
ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. 2. Ταῦτα συνθέμε-  
νοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ  
ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας  
ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ  
πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ  
εὐριόντες. 3. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλα-

κες, ἣν ἔδει διαβάοντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιστρόχους ἡμαξιαίους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. 4. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγγαλλον δὲ καὶ ἀνύριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδούμεντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ.

5. Οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύκλῳ περιμόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαίνοντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. 6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατείχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὐτῇ ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 7. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἣ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ ἀλαλίζαντες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὗζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. 8. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσσοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθὺς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἣ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. 9. καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο

ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὅπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.

**10.** Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἢ ἀποκόψαι ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι.

**11.** ἔυθα δὲ παρακελευσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις, προσβύλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλωιντο φεύγειν.

**12.** καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος, οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσιν τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον· ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.

**13.** Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, καὶ πύλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριούσιν, — ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα, — καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφώντος Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμφικρίτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν.

**14.** Ἐτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν, πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος, ὃ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔβελοντῶν.

**15.** ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἡμαχῆτι τὸν μαστὸν, ὥστε θυνμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑπώπτειον δέισαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο ὑπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὅπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν.

**16.** καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεω-

ταύτους ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμίξειαν, καὶ προσελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε.

**17.** Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγώς, καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθναῖσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. **18.** ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκου ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει. **19.** οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ κείνι τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρῆι, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύσαν. **20.** ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν. **21.** Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ, ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον. **22.** Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν δαφνιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κοινατοῖς εἶχον. **23.** Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπρίζαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδωκαν τὸν ἰγέμονα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανούσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς.

24. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ὅπη εἷη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλουν τὰς παρόδους. 25. ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλύνωντων. 26. ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλύνωντων, ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. 27. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβάσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρέιχον οἱ βάρβαροι πύλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. 28. ἄριστοι δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλεόν ἢ διπλήχη· εἶλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωρίκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις, ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

III. Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν νηλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμὸν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι, ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπείχε δὲ τῶν ὀρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. 2. τότε μὲν οὖν νηλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰπιτήδεα ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτα γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετελέσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ

τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

3. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁρώσιν ἱππέας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. 4. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μύρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι. ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. 5. αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέειχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἡ ὁρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλῳις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, — καὶ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἦρπαξεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾷλλυ βέλη, — ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους, ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρώσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρώσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρώσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὅπισθεν. 8. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅποσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. 9. ὁ δὲ ἡδέτερός τε καὶ ὡς τὰ



χιστα ἕως ὑπέβαινον, ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριατοποιεῖσθαι.

**10.** Καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ᾗδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνούντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ εἰ καθευδοὶ ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

**11.** καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κάπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν, ἐν πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. **12.** ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἰππεύσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. ἐκδύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβύντες καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. **13.** Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφὼν αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φίλῃσι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ' εὐθὺς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγούνται ταῦτά. **14.** ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ, συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐβουλεύοντο ὅπως ἂν κύλλιστα διαβαῖεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπίσθεν μηδὲν πᾶσχοιεν κακόν. **15.** καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. **16.** ἐπεὶ δὲ

καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούντο δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στῦδιοι.

17. Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήεσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος, στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδύς, ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. 18. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐτόξεον τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπὼ ἐξικνούντο. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλύλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι· πολλαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι. 20. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε, καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἑκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἱππέας. 21. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρώντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπалиν, δέισαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆίησαν, φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἑκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγέγοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 22. Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. 23. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἐξέβαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς

ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρώντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπίοντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

**24.** Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαίνειν στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδούχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὥς ἐπιθυσόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. **25.** καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατείχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξει ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολείπόμενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. **26.** καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. **27.** Οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι ὥς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θᾶπτον δὴ ἐπῆεσαν ὠδὰς τινὰς ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι αὐτὸν παραγγέλλῃ. **28.** ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας, ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὥς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. **29.** τοῖς δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικινήται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ

ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνη τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας, καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα, ἣ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. 30. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὁρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιποὺς, — πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ᾤχοντο, ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν, — ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὀπλισμένοι ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. 32. ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάττον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τᾶναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. 34. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες, ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίον ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους, οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. 2. εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην μεγάλην τε ἦν, καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταis οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπήσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. 3. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος

ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὗ. κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. 4. ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ὕπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλείᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. 5. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλοι. 6. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο, ἐφ' ᾧ μῖτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μῖτε ἐκείνους κᾶν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιτήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις.

7. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου, παρασίγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει, ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὡς δέκα σταδίου· καὶ ὑφίκοντο εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. 8. στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν, γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηνῆσαι τὰς τύξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα, καὶ ἄσφαλές ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. 9. ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἁσταφίδας, ὅσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατῖδοιεν στράτευμα, καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. 10. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἄσφαλές εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρίτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνήλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαθιράζειν. 11. νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθ' ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἅπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ

ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἢ χιών· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ὑλεεινὸν ἦν ἢ χιών ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅφρ μὴ παραρρυεῖη. 12. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος, ἐκείνου ὑφελόμενος, ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαον καὶ ἐχρίοντο. 13. πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκετο χρίμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησίμινον καὶ ἀμυγδαλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὐρίσκετο.

14. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἰδόκει πάλιν διωσκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἰδονῇ ἤρσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίδεια· ὅσοι δὲ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήρσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρῃσαν ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. 15. ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην, ἄνδρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρά· οὗτος γὰρ ἰδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἡδὴ ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. 16. Πορευθεὶς δὲ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἤκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σύγαριν οἶαν περ καὶ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. 17. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβιάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτίδεια λάβοι. οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στρώτευμα ὁπόσον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. 18. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἶη, ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Χίλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. 19. ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στρώτευμα

συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον, ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνθρωπον. 20. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ, προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 21. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου εὔλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. 22. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπίθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοὶ, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σύλπιγγι ἀπήρσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

V. Τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενὰ. συσκευασόμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. 2. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. 3. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασύγγας πέντε. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκίων πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. 4. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμφ, καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ

χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυιὰ· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. 5. Διεγέγοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ κύοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψ' ἐκπροσίοντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πύλαι ἤκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ κύοντες οὐ προσέεισαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν αὐτοῖς πυρούς, ἢ ἄλλο τι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. 6. ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκάετο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος, βόθροι ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρὴν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος. 7. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίασαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγνόει ὅτι τὸ πάθος εἶη. 8. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπέ τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι, κἄν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν περὶ τὴν ὑπόζυγια, εἴ που τι ὀρώη βρωτὸν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυνάμενους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τι ἐμφύγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο.

9. Πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. 10. αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε περσιςτὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγγην. οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ὄψ' ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. 11. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν



ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. 12. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινες, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἦρπαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. 13. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολούοιτο. 14. ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβαίναι πεποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδύρτων βοῶν. 15. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτοῖσι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκισον τετήκεναι· καὶ τετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινα ἢ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νύπῃ. ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. 16. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἦσθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πᾶσιν τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. 17. ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι, καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῶ θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ᾧ εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. 18. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νύπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο.

19. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενούσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πορευόμενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στῦδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθεισθῆκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. 20. ὁ δὲ παριὼν, καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στρατεύμα. 21. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄμφι Ξενοφῶντα ἠϋλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ, ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὴς οἷας εἶδναντο καταστησόμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενούντας τοὺς νεωτύτες, ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προίεσαι. 22. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης, σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ, ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενούντας τούτοις παρέδωσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠϋλίζετο. 23. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. 24. Ἐνθα δὲ Πολυκρύτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι ἑαυτὸν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου, ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὥχετο θηρύσων, καὶ οὐχ ἦλω ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. 25. αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατὰγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ

εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. **26.** ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατήρσιν. ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κύλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ ἔχοντες. **27.** τούτους δ' ἔδει ὅποτε τις διψῶν λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πᾶν ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πᾶν ἡδὺν συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν. **28.** Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε, λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίασιν, ἦν ἀγαθὸν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται. **29.** ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηψάντες, οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

**30.** Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον. **31.** οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. **32.** ὅποτε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἵλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ροφούντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχει ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο

μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον καὶ αὐτοὺς σκηνοῦντας, ἑστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἑνεοῖς ὃ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. 34. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνθρώπων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίνοι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμὸς· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἡ εἴη. 35. καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλιου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθῆναι· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκύστω πῶλον. 36. ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μέiones μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολὺ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδύσκει ὁ κωμάρχης περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνης ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦς.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρίσοφος, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχει, πλην τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτῃ παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείεστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. 2. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνης· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος

αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἦγαγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. 3. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς, καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο. 4. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπτά σταθμούς, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασώγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, εὐρος πλεθριαῖον. 5. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασώγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. 6. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. 7. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Οἱ μὲν πολέμοι, ὡς ὁράτε, κατέχουσιν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὦρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 8. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. 9. Ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισαμένους ὡς τάχιστα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες πολέμοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι. 10. Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γνώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχούμεθα· εἰ δὲ βον-

λόμεθα ὡς ῥῆστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβύλωμεν. 11. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον πλεόν ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὅρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας, καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθίσαντας, ἣν δυνάμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. 12. πολὺ γὰρ ῥῶον ὄρθιον ἀμαχεὶ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρφή τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεὶ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ὁμαλὴ τὴς κεφαλᾶς βαλλομένοις. 13. καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβαλεῖν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὅρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμοι. 14. ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. 15. ὅπως δὲ ὡς κρῆτιστα κλέπτῃτε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῇτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὅρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.

16. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινούς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κρῆτιστοι ἄρχειν

ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὦρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.  
**17.** Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἑτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς  
 ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἵεναι κατα-  
 ληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμ-  
 νῆτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύ-  
 σαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ  
 ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξί καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἂν περ ἅπαξ  
 λύβωμέν τι τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται.  
**18.** ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν  
 ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν  
 ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ ἴσον. **19.** Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσο-  
 φος εἶπε. Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἵεναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλα-  
 κίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαί-  
 νωνται. **20.** Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται  
 ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀριστεάς Χίος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος  
 Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν  
 τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ κάειν πολλά. **21.** ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρί-  
 στων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ  
 στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους,  
 ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτη προσάξειν.

**22.** Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν  
 ταχθέντες ὄχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
 αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ἐχόμενον  
 τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαον πυρὰ πολλά διὰ νυκτός.  
**23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος  
 ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ  
 ἄκρα ἐπῆρσαν. **24.** τῶν δ' αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμε-  
 νεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἁλ-  
 λήλων, συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλ-  
 ληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. **25.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου

οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βαδὴν ταχὺ ἐφέειπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. 27. ὥς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

VII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους, σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ᾤκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. 1. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλὰ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθύς ἦκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῆει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλῳ. 2. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὑπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· Εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 3. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· Μία αὕτη πάροδος ἐστὶν ἣν ὀρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτην πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλίνδρῳσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται· ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. 4. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρώμεν εἰ μὴ



ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. 6. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὄρᾳς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν, ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐσσηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν λωφίσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν. 7. Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἶη· θάπτον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.

8. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. 9. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἕνα λόχον. 10. ἔνθα δὲ Καλλίμαχος μηχανάται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἄμαξαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. 11. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλίσας, οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας, οὔτε

ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτὸς, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. **12.** ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ὄρᾳ αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵτινος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς γὰρ ἄπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη. **13.** Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες, ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παῖδιά, εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ῥίψοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων· **14.** ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφότεροι ᾤχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ, καὶ πρόβατα.

**15.** Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων, σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ παρασύγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ᾔεσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου. ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύγων σπύρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. **16.** εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κρίνη, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πύχεων, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολισμοσιν· **17.** ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἱ μαχόμενοι. ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον.

**18.** Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀρπασον

ποταμὸν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθῶν, σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. **19.** ἐντεῦθεν διήλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασύγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. **20.** ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκείνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἰγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας.

**21.** Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θίχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατείδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. **22.** ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ᾤκηθησαν ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. **23.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἰὲ ἐπίοντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰὲ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῷ μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἢ βοὴ ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο. ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. **24.** καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβοίθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν Θάλαττα, Θάλαττα, καὶ παρεγγυόντων. ἔνθα δὲ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. **25.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περιέβαλλον ἄλλε

λους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἑξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. 26. ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτιθέσαν δερμάτων πλήθος ὠμοβοείων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμύλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. 27. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι, δῶρα δόντες ὑπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικούς δέκα· ἥτιι δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὐ σκηνήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ᾤχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπίων.

VIII. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων, σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασύγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθιῶν. 2. εἶχον δ' ὑπερδέξιον χωρίον οἶον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμὸν. εἰς δὲ ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ οὐδεὶς διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι, παχέσι μὲν οὐδ', πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ προσήλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν. 3. οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας, καταντιπέρας τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν· ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐδ' οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4. Ἐνθα δὲ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γιγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. 5. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μῦθε πρῶτον τίνας εἰσίν. οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτί-

σαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοίνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντι-  
 τετάχεται καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμοι εἶναι. 6. Οἱ δ'  
 ἀπεκρίναντο· Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν  
 ἔρχεσθε. Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε  
 ποιήσονται, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς  
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.  
 7. ἡρώτων ἐκείνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ'  
 ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν  
 οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ  
 Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ  
 εἶναι· θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

8. Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθὺς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα  
 συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὥδοποιοῦν ὡς διαβιβάσοντες, ἐν  
 μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι· καὶ ἀγορὰν οἶαν ἐδύ-  
 ναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ  
 τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 9. ἐνταῦθα  
 ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι  
 παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἑλληνες  
 ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φύλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς  
 τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλευσάσθαι  
 συλλεγείσιν, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. 10. Ἐλεξεν  
 οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ παύσαντας τὴν φύλαγγα λόχους  
 ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύλαγξ διασπασθήσεται ἐν-  
 θύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον, τῇ δὲ εὐδοὺν εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος·  
 καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φύ-  
 λαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. 11. ἔπειτα ἦν μὲν  
 ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν  
 οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅτι ἂν βούλων-  
 ται· εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη  
 θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φύλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ  
 βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πῃ τοῦτο

ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. 12. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλείποντας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κερύτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φύλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτον προσίασιν, ἢ τε ἂν εὐδοκῇ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. 13. καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα· εἰάν τέ τις πιέζηται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἢν τε εἰς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνῃ τῶν πολεμίων. 14. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὁράτε μόνον ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαί ἐσπύδμεν· τούτους, ἢν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμοις δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. 16. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐχάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. 17. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὥς εἶδον αὐτοὺς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον, διεσπάρσθησαν καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. 18. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν

Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνᾶν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφέεπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἤρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. 19. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιττήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. 20. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμῆνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθος οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδοκίμαζον σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺν, μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 21. ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγεννημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν που ὦραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ἑκαστέρῃ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

22. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμοὺς παρασάγγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινοπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμαις· κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐληίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. 23. ἀγορὰν δὲ παρείχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοὺς καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ οἶνον. 24. συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βόες.

25. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἣν εὗξαντο παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῆσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι, καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

ἀ εὐξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔνθα περ ἐσκήνουν. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακανὼν ξυήλη πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι. 26. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδωσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπὲρ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγχανον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως; ὁ δ' εἶπε, Μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών. 27. ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθειον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καὶ, ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων, πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγίνετο. 28. ἔθειον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι, καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρηνούς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας, πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδούντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἔνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακείμευς ἐγίνετο αὐτῶν.

## II. FALL AND RESTORATION OF ATHENS.

[Hellenica, II.]

II. 3. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις, τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς, ἐλέγετο ἡ ξυμφορὰ, καὶ ἡ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐς ἄστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ



μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίων τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκία, καὶ Ἰστιαίας, καὶ Σκιωναίους, καὶ Τορωναίους, καὶ Αἰγινήτας, καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. 4. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζειν, καὶ φύλακας ἐφιστάναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὡς ἐς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον, κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ Μιτυλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. 6. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, πλὴν Σαμίων. οὗτοι δὲ, σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες, κατείχον τὴν πόλιν. 7. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξήρσαν πανδημεῖ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι, πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως, Πανσανίου. 8. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς, πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. 9. Λύσανδρος δὲ, ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἰγιναν, ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν· ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ Μηλίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμίνα, ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἴργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.

10. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμά-

χων αὐτοῖς ὄντων, οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἡδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας, οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτία ἑτέρα ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμίχουν. **11.** διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες, ἐκάρτέρουν· καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν, οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἦδη ὁ σίτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἐπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρὰ Ἀγιν, βουλόμενοι ξύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ξυνηθήκας ποιείσθαι. **12.** ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἵεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. **13.** οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ ἐπύθοντο αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἷά περ καὶ πρὸς Ἀγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κύλλιον ἤκειν βουλευσαμένους. **14.** Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἤκου οἴκαδε, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα ἐς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι, καὶ, ὥς ἂν πέμπωσιν ἐτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολείσθαι. **15.** περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο ξυμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχεστρατος γὰρ, εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιείσθαι, ἔδεδθη· (προεκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελείν ἐκάτερον·) ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ξυμβουλεύειν.

**16.** Τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων, Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι, εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἑξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ

πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον, διὰ τὸ ἐπιλειπέναι τὸν σίτον ἅπαντα, ὅτι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. 17. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τῷ τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἵεναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῶτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρεθθη πρεσβυτῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.

18. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς Ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγίδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. 19. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις, ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτῶμενοι ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν, εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης. μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καλεῖν ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν. 20. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένης τῇ Ἑλλάδι· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾗ τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγίδας καθέντας, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας, Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, ὅποι ἂν ἰγῶνται. 21. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέροντο ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἤκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μένειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. 22. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν.

ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολλῷ δὲ πλειόνων ξυνεπαίνεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. 22. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οἱ φυγῆδες κατήεσαν, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

III. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει — ἐν ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἣ τὸ στάδιον ἐνῆκα Κροκίνας Θετταλὸς, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἤρεθθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν· ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε — 2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύουσιν· καὶ ἤρεθθησαν οὗτοι, Πολυύρχης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἴππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θεόγνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φεῖδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἴππόμεχος, Μνησιθείδης. 3. Τούτων δὴ πραχθέντων, ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον· Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα, διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους. . . .

11. Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἤρεθθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθήρεθθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε ξυγγράφαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστινας πολιτεύσονται, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον ξυγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν, ὥς ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς. 12. Ἐπειτα πρῶτον μὲν, οὓς πάντες ᾔδεισαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας, καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπήγον θανάτου· καὶ ἡ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο, οἷ τε

ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ξυνήδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι, οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. **13.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν, πέμψαντες ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην, ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ, τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι, καταστήσαιντο τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνούντο. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς, τοὺς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστὴν ξυνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι.

**14.** Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πίσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττειεν· τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου ξυμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὐς ἐβούλοντο, ξυνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθυμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς ξυνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. **15.** Τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετής ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς μὴδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο· Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν. **16.** Ὁ δὲ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρήτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις, μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· Εἰ δὲ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἴς, ἡττόν τι οἶει, ὥσπερ τυραννίδος, ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελείσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ.

**17.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ξυνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί

ἔσοιτο ἡ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης, ὅτι, εἰ μή τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἄδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. 18. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυνείησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθεξόντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. 19. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ εἶναι, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὐτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους, οὐτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἶόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι. Ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πρῶττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. 20. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δὲ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς, τὰ ὄπλα πάντων, πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων, παρέειλοντο· καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ξυνέβηκαν ἐν τῷ ναφί.

21. Τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὥς ἔξον ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα δίδοναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ὑποσημήνασθαι. 22. Ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι, φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι, ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γάρ, παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν, ζῆν εἶων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν

μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν ; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα ; 23. Οἱ δ', ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅτι βούλονται, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτάς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον, ὥς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις, οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι, ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μύλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι, ξυνέλεξαν τὴν βουλὴν. 24. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρὴν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτείαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστάσι, διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθρῦφθαι. 25. ἡμεῖς δὲ, γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ γνῶμῃ τίνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. 26. καὶ εἰν τινα αἰσθανόμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαινεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. 27. Νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτουῖ, οἷς δύναται, ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἦν κατανοήτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουῖ τὰ παρόντα, οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλόμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομιζέτο· 28. νῦν δὲ, —

αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, — νῦν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιννόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δώμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. 29. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν, διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ· τοσούτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολέμοι μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὐθις, καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται· ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς, οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. 30. Ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γάρ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνώνα, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευσεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ξυνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο. 31. ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρον. δεῖ δὲ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προὔγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς ξυνόντας, ἦν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ, ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς ἐς τὰναντία πλέοιεν; 32. Καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι· σὺ δὲ, διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι, πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος εἰ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ



δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. Οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν, ὅς, ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ, αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος, ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ.

33. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρέπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολὰς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀδύναστον ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπώγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλεύοντα, καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς.

34. Ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιούμεν, καὶ τὰδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐφόρων, ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι, ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπίστης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιοθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἔαν σωφρονήτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε· ὥς οὗτος, σωθεὶς μὲν, πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν· ἀπολούμενος δὲ, πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

35. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτείνειν κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν, προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν, οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχούντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβου ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος, ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκείνοι δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαί-

νοντο· φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι, ἀποπλέοντες ὥχοντο. 36. οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκεῖναι· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθεῶς δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε, καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. 37. ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε, μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τὰδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλευοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖν, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν. ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πρῶττων ἐστίν, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. 38. Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστήναι ἐς τὴν βουλείαν, καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀποδειχθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι, πάντες ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς ξυλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου ἀγῶ ἡρξέμην τῶναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν. 39. ἦδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκούντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικούντος δ' οὐδὲ ἐν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἐγίνωσκον δὲ ὅτι, ξυλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ὑμῖν γενήσονται. 40. ἀλλὰ μὴν, καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ὑμῖν ἔξοιεν. ἀντίειπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρήναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι, τούτων ἀπολομένων, καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ

ἔσοιντο. 41. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἄσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως, ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι, μηδὲν δυνάμεθα αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἔξῃν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ' ἑδέοντο, καὶ μηδὲνα λιπεῖν, ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. 42. οὐδὲ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι ξυνήρεσκέ μοι, ἔξον αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥαδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν τῶν ἄρχομένων κρατῆσειν. Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆδε δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγιάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ᾗδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλῆθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, τοῖς δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ξύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται. 43. Ὅ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερώ, πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως, ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξυμμάχους πλείστοις διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἄφαιρούμενοι, καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες, καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. 44. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθὴ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον, καὶ Ἄνυτον, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας, ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἰνυάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ξυμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. 45. Ἄ δ' αὖ εἶπεν, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος αἰεὶ ποτε

μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δῆπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πύσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. 46. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκείνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγούμενους, φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐς δ' ἐβούλυντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξίμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, — εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; 47. Ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν· ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον — ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν — τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγέννησαι. 48. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν αἰεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν καὶ οἱ δούλοι, καὶ οἱ δὲ ὑπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ὑποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν, δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν· καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ αἰεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμι, οἱ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννείσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις, καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν, πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμεν ἔναι, καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβύλλομαι. 49. εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ ξὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστρεφῆναι πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· εἰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων, ἢ πρότερον πάποτε ταῦτα πεποικῶς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθῶν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

50. Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνούς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι, εἰ

ἐπιτρέψει τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξειτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα, ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφύκτοις. 51. πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρώων τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπη. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οὔδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέφειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερώς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις, τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου· τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίου εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτοῦ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ξυνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.

52. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίας εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ, μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ', ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραφαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. 53. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν. ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός· ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. Ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καλοὶ κάγαθοι, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκίστου.

54. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην. ἐκείνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς, ἰγουμενίου αὐτῶν Σατύρου, τοῦ θρασυτάτου αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστύτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παρα-

δίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ, κατακεκρimeνον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες, οἱ ἔνδεκα, οὐ δεῖ, τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράσσετε. 55. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἶλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἰσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ, καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλήρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. 56. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, μύλα μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν ῥήμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ· ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος, ὅτι οἰμώξειτο εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπῆρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι; Καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριτία τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστὸν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

IV. Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὡς ἔξον ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προείπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵνα αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες, ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

2. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα, Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίαις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἰππεύσι, καὶ μύλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. 3. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ· οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. 4. γυγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἰσχατιὰς, ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς, καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλὰς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ, ἐφύλαττον.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων ἐς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς, καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτὸς· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. 6. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἥδη ἀνίσταντο, ἵπποι ἑδείτο ἕκαστος, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα, δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὐδ' αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. 7. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη, ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον· προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ.

8. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ

σφίσι τὰ πρῶγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεύσιν, ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεύσι, φύσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἰεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξίεναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξίοντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται ξυνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ξυνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἱππαρχον ἐκέλευσαν ἀναγαγόντα παραδόναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα.

9. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὀριδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν ξυνειλεγμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. Δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευσε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. 10. οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὀριδεῖου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς, περὶ χιλίους ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνέεται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεύσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν. 11. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι, οὕτω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ



ἄσπετος εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες, πρῶτον μὲν ξυνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλήσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἥ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. 12. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντανέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσήεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στας, ἔλεξεν·

13. Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνησάμενοι ὑμῶν βούλομαι, ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας, καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαντον, καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται, οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ εὐχόμεθα. 14. ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ — ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες ξυνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἀδικούντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα — νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδία χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ· καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων, ὀλίγοις οὖσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαι διδῶσιν. 15. καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων, διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι, δύναιτ' ἂν· ἡμεῖς δὲ, ἐς τὸ κάταντες καὶ

δόρατα ἀφίεντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους, ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. 16. καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστύταις ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δὲ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστή ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν, ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα, καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. 17. Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσὶ, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ μυκῆριοι δῆτα, οἱ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν πασῶν ἰδίστην ἡμέραν· εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημεῖον γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. Ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ, ἥνικ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, ὡς ὢν ὑβρίσθημεν, τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

18. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πίσει τις ἢ τρωθείῃ· Ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς· νίκη δὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένη, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. 19. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος, ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος, ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει· καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὀμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος· τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεὶ δέκα ἀρχόντων, Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος· τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον,

τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδιδον, προσιώντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.

**20.** Κλεόκριτος δὲ, ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, μάλ' εὐφρονος ὢν, κατασιωπησόμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτείνειν βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχῆκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων, καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ ξυγχορευταὶ καὶ ξυμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ ξυστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. **21.** πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶων καὶ μητρῶων, καὶ ξυγγενείας, καὶ κηδεστίας, καὶ ἐταιρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις), αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, παύσασθε ἀμαρτάνοντες ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν, ἣ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. **22.** ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. **23.** τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάννυ διηταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι ξυνεκύβηοντο ἐν τῷ ξυνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρή καθυ-

φίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστεγον μὴδὲν ἡδικη-  
κέναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον,  
ὥς οὐδὲν δέοντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα  
οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι  
τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν  
καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι· καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα  
ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

24. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ  
δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει, καὶ μύλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούν-  
των ἀλλήλοις, σὺν τοῖς ἱππύρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευ-  
δον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὀιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς  
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδενον τὸ μὲν ἀφ'  
ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον  
σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν τινες  
αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. 25. Οἱ δὲ, πολλοὶ τε ἤδη  
ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ  
οἰσύννα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέ-  
σθαι, πιστὰ δόντες οἵτινες ξυμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν,  
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσσεσθαι, ἐξήρσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλίται, πολλοὶ  
δὲ γυμνῆτες (ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσεί ἐβδομή-  
κοντα), προνομῶς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ  
ὀπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεὶ. 26. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ  
ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῆι, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς  
ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ  
τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν  
Αἰξωνέων τισιν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέ-  
σφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων  
ἱππέων. 27. ἀνταπέκτεινον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ τῶν ἱπ-  
πέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον, φυλῆς Λεοντίδος·  
καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ

ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὅς, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν, καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε.

28. Περμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα, τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελεύόντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος, λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείσαν, ξυνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. 29. καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσινιάδε, ξυνελέγετο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν, ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεὶ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων, Πανσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν Ἐφόρων τρεῖς, ἐξάγει φρουράν. 30. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων. οὗτοι δ' ἔλεγον μὲν, ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους, μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιούντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πανσανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπεδῷ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεὶ, δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

31. Πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanías πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἶη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος εἶη ὁ Πειραιεύς. 32. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες, καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ ἐν Πειραιεῖ θέατρον. 33. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες, καὶ οἱ ὀπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθύς ἐκδραμόντες ἡκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδύων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Δακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. 34. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλῖται ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. Ὁ δὲ Πausanías, μάλα πιεσθεὶς, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινα, παρήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἐαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος βαθεῖαν παντελῶς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλὸν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκαττα καὶ ἑκατόν.

**35.** Ο δὲ Πausanίας τρόπαιον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρα πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας Ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσίεναι ὥς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.

**36.** ἡδέως ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας Ἐφορος ὧν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν Ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφοτέροι τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες, μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ιδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. **37.** Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ἄρχοντο ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ, ἃ ἔχουσι, καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. **38.** ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ καὶ οἱ ἑκκλητοὶ, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Πausανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. Οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν, ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὥς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπίέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα, καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ ἀρξάντων δέκα· εἰ δὲ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν.

**39.** Τούτων δὲ περανθέντων, Πausanίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς

ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θραυσύβουλος ἔλεξεν·  
**40.** Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὧς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλευῶ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοιήτε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε, ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος, πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν, οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ, πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες, πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. **41.** καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο, ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἷ, ἔχοντες καὶ τείχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ ξυμμάχους Πελοποννησίους, ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων παρελύθητε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς; οἷ γε, ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῷ δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω ἀκείνοι, ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ, οἷχονται ἀπιόντες; **42.** οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὧς ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὢν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὁσιοί ἐστε.

Εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι γαρύττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. **43.** καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχαῖς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρφ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμφαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους, ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκους ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.



# HERODOTUS.

## I. INVASION OF GREECE BY DARIUS.

1. Βασιλεί δὲ Δαρείῳ ὡς ἐξηγγέλθη Σάρδις ἀλούσας ἐμπεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰώνων, πρῶτα μὲν λέγεται αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ταῦτα, Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον ποιησόμενον, εἶρεσθαι οἷτινες εἶεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· μετὰ δὲ πυθόμενον αἰτῆσαι τὸ τόξον, λαβόντα δὲ καὶ ἐπιθέντα οἷστὸν, ἄνω ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπείναι, καὶ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥερα βάλλοντα εἰπεῖν, ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκ<sup>ἰσχυρῶς</sup> γενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι· εἶπαντα δὲ ταῦτα προστάξει ἐνὶ τῶν θεραπόντων, δείπνου προκειμένου αὐτῷ, ἐς τρεῖς ἐκάστοτε εἰπεῖν, Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

2. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπεπειράτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τι ἐν νόφ' ἔχοιεν, κότερα πολεμέειν ἐωυτῷ ἢ παραδιδόναι σφέας αὐτούς. διέπεμπε ὦν<sup>ἀπὸ</sup> κήρυκας, ἄλλους ἄλλη τάξας ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κελεύων αἰτέειν βασιλεῖ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. τούτους μὲν δὴ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, ἄλλους δὲ κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὰς ἐωυτοῦ δασμοφόρους πόλιας τὰς παραθαλασσίους, κελεύων νέας τε μακρὰς καὶ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ποιεέσθαι. 3. Οὗτοί τε δὴ παρεσκευαίζοντο ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖσι ἤκουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυξι πολλοὶ μὲν ἡπειρωτέων ἔδοσαν τὰ προῖσχετο αἰτέων ὁ Πέρσης, πάντες δὲ νησιῶται ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο αἰτήσοντες. οἱ τε δὴ ἄλλοι νησιῶται διδοῦσι γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰγινῆται. ποιήσασι δέ σφι ταῦτα ἰθέως Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπέκατο, δοκέοντες ἐπὶ σφίσι ἔχοντας τοὺς Αἰγινῆτας δεδω-

κέναι, ὥς ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύονται. καὶ ἄσμενοι προφάσιος ἐπελάβοντο, φοιτούντές τε ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην κατήγόρεον τῶν Ἀγινητέων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνήπτο πρὸς Ἀγινήτας.

4. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐποίεε, ὥστε ἀναμμνήσκοντός τε αἰεὶ τοῦ θεράποντος μεμνησθαί μιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσκατημένων καὶ διαβαλλόντων Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ταύτης ἐχόμενος τῆς προφάσιος καταστρέφεσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοὺς μὴ δόντας αὐτῷ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ. Μαρδόνιον μὲν δὴ φλαύρως πρήξαντα τῷ στόλῳ παραλύει τῆς στρατηγίης, ἄλλους δὲ στρατηγούς ἀποδέξας ἀπέστελλε ἐπὶ τε Ἑρέτριαν καὶ Ἀθήνας, Δατίν τε ἑόντα Μῆδον γένος, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνεα τὸν Ἀρταφέρνεος παῖδα, ἀδελφιδέον ἑωυτοῦ· ἐντειλάμενος δὲ ἀπέπεμπε, ἐξανδραποδίσαντας Ἀθήνας καὶ Ἑρέτριαν, ἀγαγεῖν ἑωυτῷ εἰς ὄψιν τὰ ἀνδρόποδα.

5. Χειρῶσθ<sup>αι</sup>μενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑρέτριαν, καὶ ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, ἐπλουν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, κατέρχοντές τε πολλὸν, καὶ δοκέοντες ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσειν τὰ καὶ τοὺς Ἑρετρίεας ἐποίησαν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεύσαι, καὶ ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς Ἑρετρίης, ἐς τοῦτό σφι κατηγέετο Ἴππίης ὁ Πεισιστράτου. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα. ἦγον δὲ σφέας στρατηγοὶ δέκα, τῶν ὁ δέκατος ἦν Μιλτιάδης, τοῦ τὸν πατέρα Κίμωνα τὸν Στησαγόρεω κατέλαβε φυγεῖν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἴπποκράτεος. 6. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἦκων ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου, καὶ ἐκπεφευγὼς διπλόον θάνατον, ἐστρατήγεε Ἀθηναίων. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αἱ Φοίνικες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐπιδιώξαντες μέχρι Ἰμβρου, περὶ πολ-

λοῦ ἐποιεῦντο λαβεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγαγεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα· ἅμα δὲ ἐκφυγόντα τε τούτους, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, δοκέοντά τε εἶναι ἐν σωτηρίῃ ἤδη, τὸ ἐνθευτέν μιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑποδεξίμενοι, καὶ ὑπὸ δίκαστήριον αὐτὸν ἀγαγόντες, ἐδίωξαν τυραννίδος τῆς ἐν Χερσονήσῳ. ἀποφυγὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους, στρατηγὸς οὕτω Ἀθηναίων ἀπεδέχθη, αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.

7. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, ἔοντες ἔτι ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπέμπουσι ἐς Σπύρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, Ἀθηναῖον μὲν ἄνδρα, ἄλλως δὲ ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ τοῦτο μελετώντα· τῷ δὲ (ὡς αὐτὸς τε ἔλεγε Φειδιππίδης καὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἀπήγγελλε) περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον οὖρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πᾶν περιπίπτει. βῶσαντα δὲ τοῦνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω, τὸν Πᾶνα Ἀθηναίοισι κελεύσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, διότι ἑωυτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῦνται, ἔοντος εὐνόου Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ πολλὰ γένη γενομένου ἤδη σφί χρησίμου, τὰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ἰσομένου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφίσι εὖ ἤδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα, ἰδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει Πανὸς ἱρὸν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίῃσι ἐπειτέῃσι καὶ λαμπάδι ἱλάσκονται. 8. Τότε δὲ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Φειδιππίδης οὗτος, ὅτε πέρ οἱ ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα φανῆναι, δευτεραίῳς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἄστεος ἦν ἐν Σπύρτῃ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῶν δέονται σφίσι βοηθῆσαι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι δούλοσύνῃ περιπεσοῦσαν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ γὰρ νῦν Ἐρέτριά τε ἠνδραπόδισται, καὶ πόλις λογίμῃ ἢ Ἑλλὰς γέγονε ἀσθεγέστερη. Ὁ μὲν δὲ σφί τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἀπήγγελλε· τοῖσι δὲ ἔαδε μὲν βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίοισι, ἀδύνατα δὲ σφί ἦν τὸ παραντίκα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὐ βουλομένοισι λυεῖν τὸν νόμον.

ἦν γὰρ ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνὸς εἰνάτη, εἰνάτη δὲ οὐκ ἐξελεῖν-  
σασθαι ἔφασαν, μὴ οὐ πλήρεος ἑόντος τοῦ κύκλου. οὗτοι  
μέν νυν τὴν <sup>καὶ</sup> ~~παν~~σέληνον ἔμενον.

9. Τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι κατηγγέετο Ἰππίης ὁ Πεισι-  
στράτου ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα, τῆς παροῦσας νυκτὸς ὄψιν  
ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ  
ἑωυτοῦ συνευνηθῆναι. συνεβάλετο ὦν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου, κα-  
τελθὼν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀνασωσάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, τελευ-  
τήσῃ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γηραιός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψιος συνε-  
βύλετο ταῦτα. 10. τότε δὲ κατηγεόμενος, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ  
ἀνδράποδα τὰ ἐξ Ἐρετρίης ἀπέβησε ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν  
Στυρέων, καλεομένην δὲ Αἰγίλειαν, τοῦτο δὲ καταγομένας  
ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα τὰς νέας ὥρμιζε οὗτος, ἐκβάντας τε ἐς  
γῆν τοὺς βαρβάρους διέτασσε. καὶ οἱ ταῦτα διέποντι  
ἐπῆλθε πταρεῖν τε καὶ βῆξαι μεζόνως ἢ ὥς ἑώθεε, οἷα δὲ οἱ  
πρεσβυτέρῳ <sup>καὶ</sup> ἑόντι τῶν ὀδόντων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐσειόντο. τού-  
των ὦν ἓνα τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβάλλει ὑπὸ βίης βήξας· ἐκπε-  
σόντος δὲ ἐς τὴν ψύμμον αὐτοῦ, ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν  
ἐξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐφαίνετό οἱ ὁ ὀδὼν, ἀναστενάξας εἶπε  
πρὸς τοὺς παραστάτας· Ἡ γῆ ἤδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ  
μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρίην ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δὲ τί μοι  
μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὀδὼν μετέχει. Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν  
ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.

11. Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοιισι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλέος  
ἐπῆλθον βοηθέοντες Πλαταιέες πάνδημει· καὶ γὰρ καὶ  
ἐδεδώκεσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι οἱ Πλαταιέες,  
καὶ πόνοους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συχνοὺς ᾗδ' ἀναραι-  
ρέατο· ἔδοσαν δὲ ὧδε. πιεζόμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων οἱ Πλα-  
ταιέες ἐδίδοσαν πρῶτα παρατυχοῦσι Κλεομένει τε τῷ  
Ἀναξανδρίδῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ  
δεκόμενοι ἔλεγόν σφι τύδε· Ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέο-

μεν, καὶ ὑμῖν τοιγάρ τις γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρή <sup>will</sup> ψυχρή·  
φθαίητε γὰρ ἂν πολλάκις ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ἢ τινα  
πυθέσθαι <sup>will</sup> ἡμέων. συμβουλευόμεν δὲ ὑμῖν δοῦναι ὑμέας  
αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι, πλησιῶχοιροῖς <sup>will</sup> τε ἀνδράσι καὶ τιμω-  
ρέειν ἐούσι οὐ κακοῖσι. ταῦτα συνεβούλευον οἱ Λακεδαι-  
μόνιοι, οὐ κατα εὐνοίαν οὕτω τῶν Πλαταιέων, ὥς βουλό-  
μενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόνους συνεστεώτας Βοιωτοῖσι.

12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι ταῦτα συνεβού-  
λευον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιεύν-  
των τοῖσι <sup>will</sup> δωδεκα θεοῖσι, <sup>will</sup> ἐκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν  
ἐδίδουσιν σφέας αὐτοὺς. Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα  
ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ σφι ἐβοή-  
θουν. μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην, Κορίνθιοι οὐ περι-  
εῖδον, παραινχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλαξάντες, ἐπιτρεψάντων  
ἀμφοτέρων, οὕρισαν τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ τοισίδε, ἑᾶν Θηβαί-  
ους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν.

13. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλύσσοντο· Ἀθη-  
ναίοισι δὲ ἀπιούσι ἐπεθήκοντο Βοιωτοὶ, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσ-  
σώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ  
Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὕρους, τούτους ὑπερ-  
βάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποίησαντο οὐρον Θηβαίοισι  
πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιῶς. ἔδοσαν μὲν δὴ οἱ Πλα-  
ταιέες σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοισι τρόφῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἤκον  
δὲ τότε ἐς Μαραθῶνα βοηθέοντες.

14. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖσι ἐγίνοντο δίχα αἱ  
γνώμαι· τῶν μὲν οὐκ ἐόντων συμβάλλειν, ὀλίγους γὰρ  
εἶναι στρατιῇ τῇ Μήδων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ καὶ Μιλτιάδων  
κελευόντων. ὥς δὲ δίχα τε ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐνῆκα ἡ χεῖρων  
τῶν γνωμένων, ἐνθαῦτα (ἦν γὰρ ἐνδέκατος ψηφιδόφορος ὁ  
τῷ κυάμφ λαχὼν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν, τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ  
Ἀθηναῖοι ὁμόψηφον τὸν πολέμαρχον ἐποιεύντο τοῖσι στρα-

τηγοῖσι, ἦν τε τότε πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος Ἀφιδναῖος) πρὸς τοῦτον ἐλθὼν Μιλτιάδης ἔλεγε ταῦδε· 15. Ἐν σοὶ νῦν, Καλλίμαχε, ἐστὶ ἡ καταδουλῶσαι Ἀθήνας, ἢ ἐλευθέραις ποιήσαντα, <sup>διημερεύοντα</sup> μνημόσυνά λιπέσθαι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον, οἷα οὐδὲ Ἀρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων λείπουσι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς κίνδυνον ἤκουσι μέγιστον. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε ὑποκνύψωσι τοῖσι Μήδοισι, δέδοκται τὰ πείσονται παραδεδομένοι Ἰππῆ· ἦν δὲ περιγενῆται αὕτη ἡ πόλις, οἷα τέ ἐστι πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πολίων γενέσθαι. κὼς ὦν δὴ ταῦτα οἷά τέ ἐστι γενέσθαι, καὶ κὼς ἐς σέ τι τούτων ἀνῆκει τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ κύρος ἔχειν, νῦν ἔρχομαι φράσω. ἡμέων τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἑόντων δέκα, δίχα γίνονται αἱ γνώμαι, τῶν μὲν κελευόντων συμβαλεῖν, τῶν δὲ οὐ συμβαλεῖν. ἦν μὲν νῦν μὴ συμβύλωμεν, ἔλπομαι τίνα <sup>στρατῶν</sup> στασίμ <sup>ἐμμελῶν</sup> μεγάλην ἐμπεσοῦσαν διάσεισεν τὰ Ἀθηναίων φρόνηματα ὥστε μῆδίσαι· ἦν δὲ συμβάλωμεν πρὶν τι καὶ σάθρον Ἀθηναίων μετεξετέροις ἐγγενέσθαι, <sup>μεταξύ</sup> θεῶν τὰ ἴσα μεμόντων, οἰοί τέ εἶμεν περιγενέσθαι τῇ συμβολῇ. ταῦτα ὦν πάντα ἐς σέ νῦν τείνει καὶ ἐκ σέο ἡρτῆται· ἦν γὰρ σὺ γνώμῃ τῇ ἐμῇ προσθῇ, ἔστι τοι πατρίς τε ἐλευθέρη καὶ πόλις πρώτη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦν δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποσπενδόντων τὴν συμβολὴν ἔλη, ὑπάρξει τοι τῶν ἐγὼ κατέλεξα ἀγαθῶν τὰ ἐναντία. 16. Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Μιλτιάδης προσκτᾶται τὸν Καλλίμαχον. προσγενομένης δὲ τοῦ πολεμάρχου τῆς γνώμης, ἐκεκύρωτο συμβάλλειν. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν ἡ γνώμῃ ἔφερε συμβάλλειν, ὡς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πρυτανῆτῃ τῆς ἡμέρης, Μιλτιάδῃ παρεδίδosan· ὁ δὲ δεκόμενος οὐ τί κω συμβολὴν ἐποίεστο, πρὶν γε δὴ αὐτοῦ πρυτανῆτῃ ἐγένετο.

17. Ὡς δὲ ἐς ἐκεῖνον περιῆλθε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρεος

ἡγέετο ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλλίμαχος· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τότε εἶχε  
 οὕτω τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι, τὸν πολέμαρχον ἔχειν κέρας τὸ  
 δεξιόν. ἡγεομένου δὲ τούτου, ἐξεδέκοντο ὡς ἡριθμέοντο αἱ  
 φυλαὶ, ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλων· τελευταῖοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο, ἔχον-  
 τες τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, Πλαταιέες. ἀπὸ ταύτης γὰρ σφί  
 τῆς μάχης, θυσίας Ἀθηναίων ἀναγόντων καὶ πανηγύριος  
 τὰς ἐν τῇσι πενταετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ  
 Ἀθηναῖος, ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ  
 καὶ Πλαταιεύσι. τότε δὲ, τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν  
 τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε τι· τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισού-  
 μενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγίνετο  
 ἐπὶ τάξιας ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρας ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει. 18. Ὡς δέ  
 σφί διετέτακτο, καὶ τὰ σφάγια ἐγίνετο καλὰ, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς  
 ἀπείθησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δρόμῳ ἵεντο ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους.  
 ἦσαν δὲ στάδιοι οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τὸ μεταίχμιον αὐτῶν ἢ  
 ὀκτώ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὀρέοντες δρόμῳ ἐπιόντας, παρεσκευά-  
 ζοντο ὡς δεξόμενοι· μανίην τε τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπίφερον  
 καὶ πάγχυ ὀλεθρίην, ὀρέοντες αὐτοὺς ὀλίγους, καὶ τούτους  
 δρόμῳ ἐπειγομένους, οὔτε ἵππου ὑπαρχούσης σφί οὔτε το-  
 ξευμάτων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οἱ βάρβαροι κατέικαζον· Ἀθη-  
 ναῖοι δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀθρόοι προσέμιξαν τοῖσι βαρβάροισι,  
 ἐμάχοντο ἀξίως λόγου. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πάν-  
 των τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν δρόμῳ ἐς πολεμίους ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶ-  
 τοι δὲ ἀνέσχοντο ἐσθιῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ὀρέοντες, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄνδρας ταύτην ἐσθιμένους· τέως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσι καὶ  
 τὸ οὐνομα τὸ Μηδῶν φόβος ἀκούσαι. 19. Μαχομένων δὲ  
 ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι χρόνος ἐγίνετο πολλός. καὶ τὸ μὲν μέ-  
 σον τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐνίκων οἱ βάρβαροι, τῇ Πέρσαι τε  
 αὐτοῖ καὶ Σάκαι ἐτετάχατο· κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνίκων οἱ  
 βάρβαροι, καὶ ρῆξαντες ἐδίωκον ἐς τὴν μεσογαίαν, τὸ δὲ

κέρας <sup>ἄνω</sup> ἐκάτερον ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ Πλαταιεῖς. νικῶν-  
 τες δὲ, τὸ μὲν τετραμμένον τῶν βαρβάρων φεύγειν ἔω<sup>αὐτοῖς</sup>,  
 τοῖσι δὲ τὸ μέσον ῥήξασι αὐτῶν, συναγαγόντες τὰ κέρα  
 ἀμφοτέρω, ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. φεύγουσι δὲ  
 τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι εἵπουντο κόπτοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν  
 ἀπικόμενοι πῦρ τε αἶτεον καὶ ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν νεῶν.  
**20.** Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ πολέμαρχος Καλ-  
 λίμαχος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἀγαθός, ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε  
 τῶν στρατηγῶν Στησίλεως ὁ Θρασύλεω· τοῦτο δὲ Κυνέ-  
 γειρος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος, ἐνθαῦτα ἐπιλιβόμενος τῶν ἀφλάστῶν  
 νεὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἀποκοπεῖς πελέκει πίπτει, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι  
 Ἀθηναίων πολλοί τε καὶ οὐνόμαστοί. **21.** Ἐπτα μὲν δὴ  
 τῶν νεῶν ἐπεκράτησαν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇσι δὲ  
 λοιπῇσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξανᾶκρουσάμενοι, καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
 ἐκ τῆς νήσου, ἐν τῇ ἔλιπον, τὰ ἐξ Ἑρετρίης ἀνδράποδα,  
 περιέπλων Σούνιον, βουλόμενοι φθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
 ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. αἰτίη δὲ ἔσχε ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι ἐξ  
 Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων μηχανῆς αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ἐπινοηθῆναι· τού-  
 τους γὰρ, συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα  
 εἶναι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί. **22.** οὗτοι μὲν δὴ περιέπλων  
 Σούνιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ποδῶν εἶχον τάχιστα ἐβοήθειον  
 ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ ἐφθασάν τε ἀπικόμενοι πρὶν ἢ τοὺς βαρβά-  
 ρους ἦκειν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπιγμένοι ἐξ Ἡρακλείου  
 τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐν ἄλλῳ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ ἐν Κυνοςάργει.  
 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῇσι νηυσὶ ὑπεραιωρηθέντες Φαλήρου (του-  
 το γὰρ ἦν ἐπίνειον τότε τῶν Ἀθηναίων), ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀνα-  
 κωχέυσαντες τὰς νέας, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

**23.** Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχῃ ἀπέθανον τῶν  
 βαρβάρων κατὰ ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους ἀνδρας,  
 Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐνενηκοντα καὶ δύο. ἔπεσον μὲν ἀμ-  
 φοτέρων τοσοῦτοι· συνήνεικε δὲ αὐτόθι θῶμα γενέσθαι



τοιόνδε· Ἀθηναῖον ἄνδρα Ἐπίζηλον τὸν Κουφαγόρεω, ἐν τῇ συντάσει μαχόμενόν τε καὶ ἄνδρα γινόμενον ἀγαθόν, τῶν ὁμμάτων στερηθῆναι, οὔτε πληγέντα οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος οὔτε βληθέντα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζῆς διατελέειν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὄντα τυφλόν. λέγειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ πάθεος τοιόνδε τινὰ λόγον, ἄνδρα οἱ δοκέειν ὀπλίτην ἀντιστήναι μέγαν, τοῦ τὸ γενεῖον τὴν ἀσπίδα πᾶσαν σκιάζειν· τὸ δὲ φᾶσμα τοῦτο ἑωυτὸν μὲν παρεξελθεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ παραστάτην ἀποκτείνειν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ἐπίζηλον ἐπυθόμην λέγειν.

24. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἦκον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δισχίλιοι μετὰ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἔχοντες σπουδὴν πολλὴν καταλαβεῖν οὕτω, ὥστε τριταῖοι ἐκ Σπάρτης ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. ὕστεροι δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τῆς συμβολῆς, ἰμείροντο ὅμως θήσασθαι τοὺς Μῆδους· ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα ἐθήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ, αἰνέοντες Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω.

## II. MARCH OF XERXES.—PREPARATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἀγγελίη ἀπῆκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαράγμενον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐς Σάρδεις ἐσβολὴν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τίτε πολλῶ τε δεινότερα ἐποίηε, καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ὀγγέλους κατὰ πόλιν ἐτοίμαζέιν στρατιὴν, πολλῶ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἐκάστοισι ἢ πρότερον παρέειχον, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σίτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελιομένων, ἡ

Ἀσίῃ <sup>μετὰ τὴν ἐκκέντησιν</sup> ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγόμενων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσομένων, καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. 2. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Κυμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὥρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς δέει μιν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὕτω στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσῃσι Δαρείος Ξέρξea, ὥρμητο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτά τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον <sup>καὶ μὴ</sup> συνήνεκε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, βασιλεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὔτε τοὺς ἀπεστεῶτας Αἰγυπτίους οὔτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρῆσασθαι. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιλεῖα ἀνεχώρησε εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξea. 3. Καὶ Ξέρξης . . ἐπὶ μὲν, τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεια <sup>καὶ μὴ</sup> παρὰβύετη στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατιῇ, πέμπτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀνομένη ἐστρατηλάτее χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος. στόλων γὰρ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν πολλῷ δὴ μέγιστος οὗτος ἐγένετο. τί γὰρ οὐκ ἤγαγε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ξέρξης; κοῖον δὲ πινόμενον μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ νέας παρείχοντο, οἱ δὲ εἰς πεζὸν ἐτετάχατο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππος προσετέτακτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα ἅμα στρατευομένοισι, τοῖσι δὲ εἰς τὰς γεφύρας μακρὺς νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ σιτὰ τε καὶ νέας. 4. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ὡς <sup>καὶ μὴ</sup> προσπταίσαντων τῶν πρώτων περιπλυνόντων περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, προετοιμάζετο ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων κυ μάλιστα εἰς τὸν Ἄθων. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιούντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ὤρμεον τριήρεις, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὀρμεόμενοι ὠρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων παντοδαποὶ τῆς στρατιῆς, διάδοχοί δ' ἐφοίτων. ὠρυσσον δὲ καὶ

οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄθων κατοικημένοι. Ὁ γὰρ Ἄθως ἐστὶ οὖρος μέγα τε καὶ οὐνομαστόν, ἐς θάλασσαν κατῆκον, οἰκημένον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. τῇ δὲ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τὸ οὖρος, χερσὸν ἡσοειδές τέ ἐστι καὶ ἰσθμὸς ὡς δυνάδεκα σταδίων πεδίον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κώλωνοι οὐ μεγάλοι ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς Ἀκανθίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἀντίον Τορώνης. 5. Ὠρυσσον δὲ ᾧδε· δασάμενοι τὸν χώρον οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ ἔθνεα, κατὰ Σάην πόλιν σχοίνωτενές ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο βαθέα ἡ διώρυξ, οἱ μὲν κατώτατα ἐστεῶτες ὠρυσσον, ἑτεροὶ δὲ παρεδίδοσαν τὸν αἰεὶ ἐξορυσσόμενον χεῖρ ἄλλοισι κατύπερθε ἐστεῶσι ἐπὶ βάθρων, οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκδεκόμενοι ἑτέροισι, ἕως ἀπίκοντο ἐς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω, οὗτοι δὲ ἐξεφόρεόν τε καὶ ἐξέβαλλον. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ λειμὼν ἐστὶ, ἵνα σφὶ ἀγορή τε ἐγένετο καὶ πρητήριον· σίτος δὲ σφὶ πολλὸς ἐφόιτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀγῆλεσμένος. 6. ὥς μὲν ἐμὲ συμβαλλόμενον εὕρισκειν, μεγαλοφροσύνης εἵνεκεν αὐτὸ Ἑέρξης ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε, ἐθέλων τε δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι καὶ μνημόσυνα λιπέσθαι· παρέον γὰρ μηδένα πόνον λαβόντας τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας διειρύσαι, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε διώρυχα τῇ θαλάσῃ, εὖρος ὡς δύο τριήρας πλώειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτοῖσι τούτοισι, τοῖσί περ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, προσετέτακτο καὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν ζεύξαντας γεφυρῶσαι.

7. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τὸν προκείμενον πόνον ἐργάζοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας συλλελεγμένος ἅμα Ἑέρξῃ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐκ Κριτάλλων ὀρμηθεὶς τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίῃ· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ εἴρητο συλλέγεσθαι πάντα τὸν κατ' ἡπειρον μέλλοντα ἅμα αὐτῷ Ἑέρξῃ πορεύεσθαι στρατόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Σάρδεις, πρῶτα μὲν ἀπέπεμπε κήρυκας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα αἰτήσοντας γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ προερέοντας δεῖπνα βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζειν.

8. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐς Ἀβυδον.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐξεύγνυσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ <sup>Λιγυρίας</sup> τρηχὴ ἐς θύλασσαν κατήκουσα Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον. ἐς ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐξ Ἀβύδου ὁρμεόμενοι ἐγεφύρουν τοῖσι προσεκέετο, τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου Φοίνικες, τὴν δ' ἐτέρην τὴν βυβλίνην Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔστι δὲ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. καὶ δὴ ἐξευγμένου τοῦ πόρου ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν μέγας συνέκοψέ τε ἐκείνα πάντα καὶ διέλυσε. 9. ὥς δ' ἐπύθετο Ξέρξης, δεινὰ ποιούμενος, τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐκέλευσε τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάλιστα πληγὰς, καὶ κατεῖναι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος πεδέων ζεύγος. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα, ὥς καὶ στιγέας ἅμα τούτοις ἀπέπεμψε στίβοντας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ ὦν ῥαπίζοντας λέγειν βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἀτύσθαλα. Ὡς πικρὸν ὕδωρ, δεσπότης τοι δίκην ἐπιτιθεῖ τήνδε, ὅτι μιν ἡδίκησας οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου ἄδικον παθόν. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ξέρξης διαβήσεται σε, ἣν τε σύ γε βούλῃ ἣν τε μή· σοὶ δὲ κατὰ δίκην ἄρα οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων θύει, ὥς ἔοντι δολερῷ τε καὶ ἀλμυρῷ ποταμῷ. Τὴν τε δὴ θύλασσαν ἐνετέλλετο τούτοις ζημίον, καὶ τῶν ἐπεστεώτων τῇ ζεύξει τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ἀποταμεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς. 10. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι προσεκέετο αὕτη ἡ ἄχαρις τιμὴ, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες ἐξεύγνυσαν. ἐξεύγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε· πεντηκοντέρους καὶ τριήρας συνθέντες, — ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου κατὰ ῥοόν, ἵνα ἀνάκωχέη τὸν τῶν ὀπλων <sup>τοῦ ποταμοῦ</sup>, — συνθέντες δὲ ἀγκύρας κατήκαν περίμηνεας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν ἀνέμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἐσώθεν <sup>ἐκ τῶν</sup> ἐκπνεόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ

τοῦ Αἰγαίου εὖρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκεν· διέκπλοον δὲ ὑπό-  
 φασιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων <sup>τριήρων</sup> τριήχου,  
 ἵνα καὶ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔχῃ ὁ βουλόμενος πλώειν πλοίοισι  
 λεπτοῖσι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔξω. 11. ταῦτα δὲ ποιή-  
 σαντες, κατέτεινον ἐκ γῆς στρεβλοῦντες ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι τὰ  
 ὄπλα, οὐκέτι χωρὶς ἐκάτερα τάξαντες, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν λευκο-  
 λίνου δασύμενοι ἐς ἐκατέρην, τέσσαρα δὲ τῶν βυβλίνων.  
 παχύτης μὲν ἦν ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ καλλονή, κατὰ λόγον δὲ ἦν  
 ἐμβριθέστερα τὰ λίνεα, τοῦ πύλαντον ὁ πῆχυς εἴλκε.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγεφυρώθη ὁ πόρος, κόρμους ξύλων <sup>κατα</sup>καταπρίσαν-  
 τες, καὶ ποιήσαντες ἴσους τῆς σχεδὸς τῷ εὐρεῖ, κόσμῳ  
 ἐπετίθεσαν κατύπερθε τῶν ὀπλῶν τοῦ τόνου, θέντες δὲ  
 ἐπέξῃς ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὶς ἐπέξεύγνου. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα  
 ὕλην ἐπεφόρησαν, κόσμῳ δὲ θέντες καὶ τὴν γῆν, γῆν  
 ἐπεφόρησαν· κατὰνάξαντες δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν, φραγμῶν πα-  
 ρείρυσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ἵνα μὴ φοβέται τὰ ὑποζύγια  
 τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπερορῶντα καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.

12. Ὡς δὲ τὰ τε τῶν γεφυρέων κατεσκευάστο καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν Ἄθων, οἳ τε χυτοὶ περὶ τὰ στόματα τῆς διώρυχος  
 (οἱ τῆς ῥηχίης εἵνεκεν ἐποιήθησαν, ἵνα μὴ πίμπληται τὰ  
 στόματα τοῦ ὀρύγματος), καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ διώρυξ παντελέως  
 πεποιημένη ἡγγέλλετο, ἐνθαῦτα χειμερίσας, ἅμα τῷ ἑαρί  
 παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὠρμᾶτο ἐλὼν  
 ἐς Ἀβυδὸν. ὠρμημένῳ δὲ οἱ ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν, οὗτ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων, αἰθρίης  
 τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νυξ ἐγένετο. ἰδόντι δὲ καὶ  
 μαθόντι τοῦτο τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο, καὶ εἶρετο τοὺς  
 Μύρους, τὸ ἐθέλοι προφαίνειν τὸ φῶσμα. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον,  
 ὡς Ἑλλήσι προδεικνύει ὁ θεὸς ἐκλειψιν τῶν πολίων, λέ-  
 γοντες ἥλιον εἶναι Ἑλλήνων <sup>πρὸς</sup>προδεκτορα, σελήνην δὲ  
 σφέων. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ξέρξης περιχαρὴς ἔων

ἐποίετο τὴν ἑλάσιν. **13.** ἰγέοντο δὲ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ σκευοφόροι τε καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, μετὰ δὲ τούτους στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων ἀναμίξ, οὐ διακεκριμένοι· τῇ δὲ ὑπερῆμίσσεσ ἦσαν, ἐνθαῦτα διελέλειπτο, καὶ οὐ συνέμισγον οὗτοι βασιλεί. προηγεύντο μὲν δὴ ἱππῶται χίλιοι ἐκ Περσέων πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι· μετὰ δὲ αἰχμοφόροι χίλιοι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ πάντων ἀπολελεγμένοι. τὰς λόγχας κάτω ἐς τὴν γῆν τρέψαντες· μετὰ δὲ ἱροὶ Νισαῖοι καλούμενοι ἵππου δέκα, κεκοσμημένοι ὡς κάλλιστα. Νισαῖοι δὲ καλέονται ἵπποι ἐπὶ τοῦδε· ἔστι πεδῖον μέγα τῆς Μηδικῆς, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Νίσαιον. τοὺς ὦν δὴ ἵππους τοὺς μεγάλους φέρει τὸ πεδῖον τοῦτο. ὅπισθε δὲ τούτων τῶν δέκα ἵππων ἄρμα Διὸς ἱρὸν ἐπετέτακτο, τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἰλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν ἵππων εἵπετο πεξὴ ἡνίοχος ἐχόμενος τῶν χαλινῶν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν θρόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀναβαίνει. τούτου δὲ ὅπισθε αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπ' ἄρματος ἵππων Νισαίων· παραβεβήκει δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Πατιράμφης, Ὀτάνεω παῖς ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω.

**14.** Ἐξήλασέ μὲν οὕτω ἐκ Σαρδίων Ξέρξης, μετεκβαίνεσκε δὲ, ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς ἀρμάμαξαν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ὅπισθε αἰχμοφόροι Περσέων οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ γενναῖοτάτοι χίλιοι, κατὰ νόμον τὰς λόγχας ἔχοντες, μετὰ δὲ ἵππος ἄλλη χιλίη ἐκ Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένη, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππου ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν Περσέων ἀπολελεγμένοι μύριοι. οὗτος πεξὸς ἦν· καὶ τούτων χίλιοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσι δούρασι ἀντὶ τῶν σαυρωτήρων ροιᾶς εἶχον χρυσέας, καὶ πέριξ συνεκλήριον τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ εἰνακισχίλιοι ἐντὸς τούτων ἔοντες ἀργυρέας ροιᾶς εἶχον. εἶχον δὲ χρυσέας ροιᾶς καὶ οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν τρέποντες τὰς λόγχας, καὶ μῆλα οἱ ἄγχιιστα ἐπόμενοι Ξέρξη. τοῖσι δὲ μυρίοισι ἐπετέτακτο ἵππος Περσέων μυρίη. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἵππου διελέλειπτο

καὶ δύο σταδίου, καὶ ἔπειτεν ὁ λοιπὸς ὄμιλος ἥτε ἀναμίξ.  
**15.** ἀπικομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Σκύμανδρον, ὃς  
 πρῶτος ποταμῶν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ Σαρδίων ὀρμηθέντες ἐπεχείρη-  
 σαν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρεεθρὸν, οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ  
 τε καὶ τοῖσι κτηνέσι πινόμενος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ὡς ἀπίκητο Ξέρξης, ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἡμέρον  
 ἔχων θηήσασθαι. θηησόμενος δὲ, καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων  
 ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιῳδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας, χοῦς δὲ  
 οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἔχεαντο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι  
 νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ  
 ἐπορεύετο ἐνθαῦτε.

**16.** Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Ἀβύδῳ, ἠθέλησε Ξέρξης ιδέ-  
 σθαι πάντα τὸν στρατὸν. καὶ προεπεποίητο γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 κυλῶν<sup>οῦ</sup> ἐπιτήδε<sup>ς</sup> αὐτῷ ταύτῃ προεξέδρη λίθου λευκοῦ  
 (ἐποίησαν δὲ Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἐντειλαμένου πρότερον βασιλέος),  
 ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ἵκετο, κατορῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐθνεῖτο καὶ τὸν  
 πεζὸν καὶ τὰς νέας. θηούμενος δὲ ἡμέρῃ τῶν νεῶν ἀμίλ-  
 λαν γινομένην ιδέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετό τε καὶ ἐνίκων  
 Φοίνικες Σιδώνιοι, ἦσθη τε τῇ ἀμίλλῃ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ.  
 Ὡς δὲ ὦρα πάντα μὲν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν  
 ἀποκεκρυμμένον, πάσας δὲ τὰς ἀκτῆας καὶ τὰ Ἀβυδηνῶν  
 πεδία ἐπίπλεα ἀνθρώπων, ἐνθαῦτα Ξέρξης ἐωυτὸν ἐμάκα-  
 ρισε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε. **17.** μαθὼν δέ μιν Ἀρτά-  
 βανος ὁ πάτριος — ὃς τὸ πρῶτον γνώμην ἀπεδέξατο ἐλευ-  
 θέρως, οὐ συμβουλευῶν Ξέρξῃ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλ-  
 λίδα — οὗτος ὤνῃρ φρασθεὶς Ξέρξεα δακρύσαντα, εἶρετο  
 ταῦδε· Ὁ βασιλεῦ, ὡς πολλὸν ἀλλήλων κεχωρισμένα ἐργά-  
 σαι νῦν τε καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον· μακάρισας γὰρ σεωυτὸν  
 δακρύεις. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἐσῆλθε γάρ με λογισάμενον κατὰ  
 κτεῖραι, ὡς βραχὺς εἴη ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος βίος, εἰ τούτων  
 γε εὐόντων τοσούτων οὐδεὶς ἐς ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος περιέσται.

ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο, λέγων· "Ἐτερα τούτου παρὰ τὴν ζῆν πε-  
 πόνθαμεν οἰκτροτέρα. ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχείῃ βίῳ οὐδεὶς  
 οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε, οὔτε τούτων οὔτε  
 τῶν ἄλλων, τῷ οὐ παραστήσεται πολλὰκις, καὶ οὐκ ἄπαξ,  
 τεθνάναι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. αἶ τε γὰρ συμφοραὶ  
 προσπίπτουσαι, καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι συνταράσσουσαι, καὶ βραχὺν  
 ἔοντα μακρὸν δοκέειν εἶναι ποιεῦσι τὸν βίον. οὕτω ὁ μὲν  
 θάνατος, <sup>καὶ</sup> μόχθῳ ἐούσης τῆς ζῆς, καταφυγὴ αἰρετώτατη  
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γέγονε· ὁ δὲ θεὸς, γλυκὺν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα,  
 φθονερός ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν. Ἐρέξης δὲ ἀμείβετο  
 λέγων· "Ἀρτάβανε, βιοτῆς μὲν νυν ἀνθρωπότης πέρι, ἐού-  
 σης τοιαύτης οἶν περ σὺ διαιρέεαι εἶναι, παυσώμεθα, μηδὲ  
 κακῶν μεμνεώμεθα, χρηστὰ ἔχοντες πρήγματα ἐν χερσὶ.

18. Καὶ Ἀρτάβανον ἀποστείλας ἐς Σοῦσα, δεύτερα με-  
 τεπέμψατο Ἐρέξης Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 οἱ παρήσαν, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "ὦ Πέρσαι, τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ὑμέων  
 χρητίζων συνέλεξα, ἄνδρας τε γίνεσθαι ἀγαθοὺς, καὶ μὴ  
 καταισχύνειν τὰ πρόσθε ἐργασμένα Πέρσῃσι, ἔοντα μεγάλα  
 τε καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, ἀλλ' εἰς τε ἕκαστος καὶ οἱ σύμπαντες  
 προθυμίην ἔχωμεν· ξυνὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πᾶσι ἀγαθὸν σπεν-  
 δεται. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προαγηρεύω ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέ-  
 μου ἐντεταμένως· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπ' ἄνδρας  
 στρατευόμεθα ἀγαθοὺς, τῶν ἣν κρατήσωμεν, <sup>οὐ</sup> μή τις ἡμῖν  
 ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀντιστῇ κοτε ἀνθρώπων. νῦν δὲ διαβαίνω-  
 μεν, ἐπευξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι οἱ Περσίδα γῆν λελόγηχαι.

19. Ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν διά-  
 βασιν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἀνέμενον τὸν ἥλιον ἐθέλοντες ιδέσθαι  
 ἀνίσχοντα, θυμῷ τε παντοῖα ἐπὶ τῶν γεφυρέων κατὰ-  
 γίζοντες καὶ μύρσινῃσι στορνύντες τὴν ὁδόν. ὥς δ' ἐπανε-  
 τελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ἐρέξης ἐς τὴν  
 θάλασσαν, εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην



τοιαύτην γενέσθαι, ἥ μιν παύσει καταστρεφῆσθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται. εὐζύμενος δὲ ἐσέβαλε τὴν φιάλην ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ χρύσειον κρητῆρα καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι. ταῦτα οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι, οὔτε εἰ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνατιθεὶς κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὔτε εἰ μετεμέλησέ οἱ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μαστιγώσαντι καὶ ἀντὶ τούτων τὴν θάλασσαν ἐδωρέτο. 20. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἐπεκοίητο, διέβαινον κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐτέρην τῶν γεφυρέων τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου ὁ πεζός τε καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἅπασα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ Αἰγαῖον τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἡ θεραπῆτή. ἡγέοντο δὲ πρῶτα μὲν οἱ μύριοι Πέρσαι, ἐστεφανωμένοι πάντες, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὁ σύμμικτος στρατὸς παντοίων ἐθνέων. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην οὗτοι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ τε ἱππῶται καὶ οἱ τὴν λόγχην κύτῳ τράποντες· ἐστεφάνωντο δὲ καὶ οὗτοι· μετὰ δὲ οἱ τε ἵπποι οἱ ἱροὶ καὶ τὸ ἄρμα τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτός τε Ξέρξης καὶ οἱ αἰχμοφόροι καὶ οἱ ἱππῶται οἱ χίλιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ἄλλος στρατός. καὶ αἱ νέες ἅμα ἀνῆγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀπεναντίον. ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα καὶ ὕστατον διαβῆναι βυσιλέα πάντων. 21. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ τε διέβη ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐθηεῖτο τὸν στρατὸν ὑπὸ μαστίγων διαβαίνοντα. διέβη δὲ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέρησι καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ εὐφρόνησι, ἐλινύσας οὐδένα χρόνον. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται, Ξέρξῃ ἤδη διαβεβηκότος τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄνδρα εἰπεῖν Ἑλλησπόντιον· ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ ἀνδρὶ εἰδόμενος Πέρσῃ καὶ οὐνομα ἀντὶ Διὸς Ξέρξεα θέμενος, ἀνάστατον τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐθέλεις ποιῆσαι, ἄγων πάντας ἀνθρώπους; καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων ἐξῆν τοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα.

22. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώων παρὰ γῆν ἐκομίζετο, τὰ ἔμπαιιν πρήσσω τῷ πεζοῦ. Ὁ δὲ Δορίσκος ἐστὶ τῆς Θρηάκης αἰγιαλός τε καὶ πεδίον μέγα,

διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας Ἐβρος. ἔδοξε ὦν τῷ Ἑρέξῃ ὁ χώρος εἶναι ἐπιτίδεδος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τῆς μὲν δὴ νέας τὰς πύσας ἀπικομένας ἐς Δορίσκον οἱ ναύαρχοι κελεύσαντος Ἑρέξω ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν πρόσδεχέα Δορίσκῃ ἐκόμισαν. 23. ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δορίσκῃ τούτον τὸν χρόνον τῆς στρατιῆς ἀριθμὸν ἐποίηετο. Ὅσον μὲν νυν ἕκαστοι παρῆχον πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ ἀτρεκές (οὐ γὰρ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων), σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλήθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες. ἐξηρίθμησαν δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· συναγαγόντες ἐς ἓνα χώρον μυριάδα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ συννάξαντες ταύτην ὡς μάλιστα εἶχον, περιέγραψαν ἕξωθεν κύκλον, περιγύψαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπέντες τοὺς μυρίους, αἵμασι τὴν περιέβαλον κατὰ τὸν κύκλον, ἕψος ἀνήκουσαν ἀνδρὶ ἐς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ταύτην δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἄλλους ἐσεβίβαζον ἐς τὸ περιουικοδομημένον, μέχρι οὐ πάντας τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐξηρίθμησαν. ἀριθμήσαντες δὲ κατὰ ἔθνεα διέτασσον.

24. Ἑρέξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἡριθμήθη τε καὶ διετάχθη ὁ στρατός, ἐπεθύμησε αὐτὸς σφεας διεξελεύσας θηήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, καὶ διεξελαύνων ἐπὶ ἄρματος παρὰ ἔθνος ἐν ἕκαστον ἐπυνθάνετο, καὶ ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματίσται, ἕως ἐξ ἑσχάτων ἐς ἑσχατὰ ἀπῖκετο, καὶ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ὥς δὲ ταυτὶ οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, τῶν νεῶν κατελκυσθεισέων ἐς θάλασσαν, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Ἑρέξης, μετεκβάς ἐκ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐς νέα Σιδωνίην, ἔζετο ὑπὸ σκηνῇ χρυσῇ καὶ παρέπλωε παρὰ τὰς πρῶρας τῶν νεῶν, ἐπειρωτῶν τε ἐκάστας ὁμοίως ὡς καὶ τὸν πεζόν, καὶ ἀπογραφόμενος. τῆς δὲ νέας οἱ ναύαρχοι ἀναγαγόντες ὅσον τε τέσσερα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνεκωχέον, τὰς πρῶρας ἐς γῆν, τρέψαντες πάντες μετωπηδόν, καὶ ἐξοπλίσαντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ὡς ἐς πόλε-

μον. ὁ δ' ἐντὸς τῶν πρῶρων πλώων ἐθνεῖτο καὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ.

25. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Δορίσκου ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. οἱ δὲ ὑποδεκόμενοι Ἑλλήνων τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίζοντες Ξέρξεα ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ ἀπίκατο, οὕτω ὥστε ἀναστατοὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐγίνοντο· ἔκου γε Θασίοισι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολίων τῶν σφετέρων δεξαμένοισι τὴν Ξέρξεω στρατιὴν καὶ δειπνίσασι, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Ὀργέος ἀνταρρημένος, τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοία τῷ μάλιστα, ἀπέδεξε ἐς τὸ δαίπνον τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελεσμένα. 26. ἔνθα δὲ Μεγακρέοντος ἀνδρὸς Ἀβδηρίτεω ἔπος ἐν εἰρημένον ἐγένετο, ὃς συνεβούλευσε Ἀβδηρίτῃσι παυδῆμει αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας ἐλθόντας ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἱρὰ ἕζεσθαι ἱκέτας τῶν θεῶν, παραιτεομένους καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σφι ἀπαμυνεῖν τῶν ἐπιόντων κακῶν τὰ ἡμίσεα, τῶν τε παροισχόμενων ἔχειν σφι μεγάλην χάριν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης οὐ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἐνόμισε σῖτον αἰρέεσθαι· παρέχειν γὰρ ἂν Ἀβδηρίτῃσι, εἰ καὶ ἄριστον προειρητο ὁμοία τῷ δαίπνῳ παρασκευάζειν, ἢ μὴ ὑπόμειναι Ξέρξεα ἐπιόντα, ἢ καταμείναντας κάκιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων διατριβῆναι. 27. Οἱ μὲν δὲ πιεζόμενοι ὅμως τὸ ἐπιτασσόμενον ἐπετέλεον. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀκάνθου ἐντειλόμενος τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ὑπομένειν ἐν Θέρμῃ, ἀπῆκε ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ τὰς νέας πορεύεσθαι, (Θέρμῃ δὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ Θερμαίῳ κόλπῳ οἰκημένη, ἀπ' ἧς καὶ ὁ κόλπος οὗτος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἔχει) ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπυνθάνετο σύντομώτατον εἶναι.

28. Ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ Πιερίην διέτριβε ἡμέρας συχνάς· οἱ δὲ δὴ κήρυκες οἱ ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν ἀπίκατο, οἱ μὲν κεινοὶ, οἱ δὲ φέροντες γῆν τε καὶ

ὕδωρ. Τῶν δὲ δόντων ταῦτα ἐγένοντο οὗδε, Θεσσαλοὶ, Δόλοπες, Αἰνιῆνες, Περραιβοὶ, Λοκροὶ, Μάγνητες, Μηλίεις, Ἀχαιοὶ οἱ Φθιῆται, καὶ Θηβαῖοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Βοιωτοὶ πλὴν Θεσπιδέων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων. ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔταμον ὄρκιον οἱ τῷ βαρβύρῳ πόλεμον ὑειρέμενοι. τὸ δὲ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε· Ὅσοι τῷ Πέρσῃ ἔδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἕλληνες ἔοντες, μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, καταστάντων σφί ἐν τῶν πρηγμάτων, τούτους δεκατεῦσαι τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ὄρκιον ὧδε εἶχε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. 29. ἐς δὲ Ἀθήνας καὶ Σπύρτην οὐκ ἀπέπεμψε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ γῆς αἰτήσιν κήρυκας τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· πρότερον Δαρείου πέμψαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, αἱ μὲν αὐτῶν τοὺς αἰτέοντας ἐς τὸ βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς φρέαρ ἐσβαλόντες, ἐκέλευον γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τούτων φέρειν παρὰ βασιλέα. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἔπεμψε Ξέρξης τοὺς αἰτήσοντας. ὃ τι δὲ τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοις ταῦτα ποιήσασιν τοὺς κήρυκας συνήνεκεν ἀνέθηκεν γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, πλὴν ὅτι σφέων ἡ χώρα καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐδηλώθη. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην δοκέω γενέσθαι.

30. Ἡ δὲ στρατηλασίῃ ἡ βασιλέος οὐνομα μὲν εἶχε ὡς ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει, κατίετο δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα πρὸ πολλοῦ. οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ πάντες ἐπὶ κέντῳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν δόντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἶχον θιρσός, ὡς οὐδὲν πεισόμενοι ἄχαρι πρὸς τοῦ βαρβύρου· οἱ δὲ οὐ δόντες ἐν δέματι μεγάλῳ κατέστασαν, ἅτε οὔτε νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀριθμὸν ἀξιομαχῶν δέκεσθαι τὸν ἐπιόντα, οὔτε βουλομένων τῶν πολλῶν ἀντάπτεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, μηδίζοντων δὲ πρόθυμως. 31. ἐνθαῦτα ἀναγκάσθη ἐξέργομαι γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ἐπὶ φέροντον μὲν πρὸς τῶν πλεόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὅμως δὲ, τῇ γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται εἶναι ἀληθές, οὐκ ἐπισχίσσω. εἰ

Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδίσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέρην, ἥ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μέιναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν οὐδαμοὶ ἂν ἐπειρῶντο ἀντιεὐμενοὶ βασιλείῃ. εἰ τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἠντιούτο Ξέρξῃ, κατὰ γε ἂν τὴν ἡπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ τειχέων κιθῶνες ἦσαν ἐληλαμένοι διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ Πελοποννησίοισι, προδοθέντες ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης, κατὰ πόλιν ὀλισκομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἐμουνώθησαν, μουνωθέντες δὲ ἂν καὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γυναιώς. 32. ἡ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἡ πρὸ τοῦ ὀρέοντες ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας μηδίζοντας, ὁμολογίῃ ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξεα. καὶ οὕτω ἂν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐγίνετο ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. τὴν γὰρ ὠφελὴν τὴν τῶν τειχέων τῶν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένων οὐ δύναμαι πυθέσθαι ἥτις ἂν ἦν, βασιλῆος ἐπικρατέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης. νῦν δὲ Ἀθηναίους, ἃ τις λέγων σωτήρας γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι τῷ θεῷ· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁκότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐτρέποντο, ταῦτα ρέψειν ἔμελλε. ἐλόμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιεῖναι ἐλευθέρην, τοῦτο γὰρ Ἑλληνικὸν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν, ὅσον μὴ ἐμῆδισε, αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐπεγείραντες, καὶ βασιλέα μετὰ γε θεοὺς ἀνωσάμενοι. οὐδέ σφας χρηστήρια φοβερὰ ἐλθόντα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐς δαίμα βαλόντα ἔπεισε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες ἀνέσχοντο τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δέξασθαι.

33. Πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους χρηστηριῶξέσθαι ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι. καὶ σφι ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα, ὥς ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἔζοντο, ἢ χρᾶ ἢ Πυθίῃ, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀριστονίκη, ταῦδε.

ὦ μέλει, τί κάθησθε; λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης  
 Δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδὲος ἄκρα κυρηνά.  
 Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ μένει ἔμπροσθεν, οὔτε τὸ σῶμα,  
 Οὔτε πόδες νέεσθαι, οὐτ' ὦν χεῖρες, οὔτε τι μέσσης  
 Δεῖπεται, ἀλλ' αἰδῶν πᾶσι. κατὰ γὰρ μιν ἐρεῖπει  
 Πῦρ τε καὶ ὄξυς Ἄρης, Συριτηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων.  
 Πολλὰ δὲ κάλλ' ἀπολεῖ πυργώματα, κοῦ τὸ σὸν οἶον.  
 Πολλοὺς δ' ἀθανάτων νηοὺς μακρῶ πυρὶ δώσει,  
 Οἳ πού νῦν ἰδρῶσι ρεούμενοι ἐστήκασιν,  
 Δείματι παλλόμενοι, κατὰ δ' ἀκροτάτοις ὀρόφοισι  
 Αἶμα μέλαν κέχυται, προῖδον κακότητος ἀνάγκας.  
 Ἄλλ' ἵτον ἐξ αὐτόιο, κακοῖς δ' ἐπικίδνατε θυμόν.

34. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεοπρόποι συμ-  
 φορῇ τῇ μεγίστῃ ἐχρέοντο. προβίλλουσι δὲ σφέας αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦ κεκρησμένου, Τίμων ὁ Ἀνδροβούλου,  
 τῶν Δελφῶν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ὁμοίᾳ τῷ μάλιστα, συνεβούλευέ  
 σφι ἱκετηρίας λαβοῦσι δεύτερα αὐτῖς ἐλθόντας χρᾶσθαι  
 τῷ χρηστήριῳ ὡς ἱκέτας. πειθόμενοισι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι  
 Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ λέγουσι· ὦναξ, χρῆσον ἡμῖν ἄμεινόν τι  
 περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς ἱκετηρίας τάσδε τὺς τοι  
 ἤκομεν φέροντες· ἢ οὐ τοι ἄπιμεν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ τῆδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν. 35. ταῦτα  
 δὲ λέγουσι ἢ πρόμαντις χρᾶ δεύτερα ταῦδε·

Οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δί' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι,  
 Δισσομένη πολλοῖσι λόγοις καὶ μήτιδι πυκνῇ.  
 Σοὶ δὲ τόδ' αὐτῖς ἔπος ἐρέω, αἰδύμαντι πελάσσας.  
 Τῶν ἄλλων γὰρ ἀλίσκομένων, ὅσα Κέκροπος οὖρος  
 Ἐντὸς ἔχει κεύθμων τε Κιθαιρῶνος ἀνέσσο,  
 Τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς  
 Μοῦνον ἀπορθητὸν τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνύσει.  
 Μῆδὲ σύ γ' ἵπποσύνην τε μένειν καὶ πεζὸν ἴοντα  
 Πολλὸν ἀπ' ἡπείρου στρατὸν ἡσυχος, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρεῖν

Νῶτον ἐπιστρέψας· ἔτι τοί κοτε κἀντίος ἔσση. 10

\*Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

\*Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

36. Ταῦτά σφι <sup>συνηγμένη</sup> ἡπιώτερα γὰρ τῶν προτέρων καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκεε εἶναι, συγγραφάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὡς δὲ ἀπελθόντες οἱ θεοπρόποι ἀπήγγελλον ἐς τὸν δῆμον, γινώμ<sup>αι</sup> καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ἐγίνοντο διζημένων τὸ μαντήϊον, καὶ μῖδε <sup>ἐκείνη</sup> συνέστηκυῖαι μάλιστα· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔλεγον μετεξέτεροι δοκέειν σφι τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν χρῆσαι περιέσεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἀκρόπολις τὸ πάλαι τῶν Ἀθηνέων ῥήχῳ ἐπέφρακτο. οἱ μὲν δὲ κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν συνεβάλλοντο τοῦτο τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι· οἱ δ' αὖ ἔλεγον τὰς νέας σημαίνειν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ταύτας παραρτέεσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέντας. τοὺς ὦν δὲ τὰς νέας λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἔσφαλλε τὰ δύο τὰ τελευταῖα ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης,

\*Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολείς δὲ σὺ τέκνα γυναικῶν

\*Η που σκιδναμένης Δημήτερος ἢ συνιούσης.

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα συνεχέοντο αἱ γινώμ<sup>αι</sup> τῶν φαμίμων τὰς νέας τὸ ξύλινον τείχος εἶναι. οἱ γὰρ χρησμολόγοι ταύτῃ ταῦτα ἐλίμβανον, ὡς ἀμφὶ Σαλαμίνα δεῖ σφέας ἐσώσθηναι ναυμαχίην παρασκευασαμένους.

37. \*Ην δὲ τῶν τις Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ ἐς πρώτους νεωστὶ παριῶν, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς, παῖς δὲ Νεοκλῆος ἐκαλέετο. οὗτος ὠνὴρ οὐκ ἔφη πᾶν ὀρθῶς τοὺς χρησμολόγους συμβάλλεσθαι, λέγων τοιαύδε· εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἰόντως, οὐκ ἂν οὔτω μιν δοκέειν <sup>λαλῶν</sup> ἡπίως χρησθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὧδε, \*Ω σχετλιῇ Σαλαμῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ \*Ω θεΐη Σαλαμῖς, εἴ πέρ γε ἐμελλον οἱ οἰκήτορες ἀμφ' αὐτῇ τελευτήσῃν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ θεῷ εἰρῆσθαι

τὸ <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> χρηστήριον <sup>ἰσχυρῶς</sup> συλλαμβάνοντι <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς  
 Ἀθηναίους. παρασκευάζεσθαι ὦν αὐτοὺς ὡς ναυμαχήσου-  
 τας συνεβούλευε, ὡς τούτου ἑόντος τοῦ ξυλίνου τείχεος.  
 ταύτῃ <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποφαινομένου, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῦτά σφι  
 ἔγνωσαν <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> αἰρετώτερα εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν χρησμολόγων.  
 οἱ οὐκ ἔων ναυμαχίην ἀρτεεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι οὐδὲ  
 χείρας ἀνταείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκλιπόντας χώρην τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκίζειν. 38. Ἐτέρῃ τε Θεμιστοκλεῖ γνῶμη  
 ἔμπροσθε ταύτης ἐς καιρὸν <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ἤριστευσε, ὅτε Ἀθηναίοισι  
 γενομένων <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τὰ ἐκ τῶν  
 μεταλλῶν σφι προσήλθε τῶν ἀπὸ Δαυρείου, ἔμελλον λάξε-  
 σθαι <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ὀρχηδὸν ἕκαστος δέκα δραχμῆς. τότε Θεμιστοκλῆς  
<sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ἀνεγνώσε Ἀθηναίους, τῆς διαίρεσιν ταύτης παυσάμενους,  
 νέας τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ποιήσασθαι δικηκοσίας ἐς τὸν  
 πόλεμον, τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινίτας λέγων. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος  
<sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> συστάς <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ἔσωσε τότε τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀναγκάσας θαλασσίους  
 γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μὲν ἐποιήθησαν οὐκ  
 ἐχρήσθησαν, <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ἐς δὲ οὕτω τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐγένοντο. αὐταὶ  
 τε δὴ αἱ νέες τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι προποιοιθεῖσαι ὑπῆρχον.  
 ἐτέρας τε <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> ἔδεε <sup>ῥησιμότητι</sup> προσναυπηγέεσθαι. ἔδοξε τέ σφι μετὰ τὸ  
 χρηστήριον βουλευομένοισι, ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν  
 βύρβαρον δέκεσθαι τῇσι νηυσὶ πανδημεῖ, τῷ θεῷ πειθομέ-  
 νους, ἅμα Ἑλλήνων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι.  
 39. Τὰ μὲν δὴ χρηστήρια ταῦτα τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἔγε-  
 γόνε· συλλεγομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων, καὶ διδόντων σφίσι λόγον καὶ  
 πίστιν, ἐνθαῦτα ἔδοκε βουλευομένοισι αὐτοῖσι πρῶτον μὲν  
 χρημάτων πάντων καταλλύσσεσθαι τὰς τε ἔχθρας καὶ  
 τοὺς κατ' ἀλλήλους ἑόντας πολέμους. ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τινας  
 καὶ ἄλλους ἐγκεκρημένοι, ὁ δὲ ὦν μέγιστος Ἀθηναίοισι τε  
 καὶ Αἰγινίτησι. μετὰ δὲ, πυνθανόμενοι Ξέρξεα σὺν τῷ



στρατῶ εἶναι ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐβουλεύσαντο κατασκόπους πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τῶν βασιλέος πρηγμάτων, ἐς Ἄργος τε ἀγγέλους ὁμαιχμὴν συνθησομένους πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ ἐς Σικελίην ἄλλους πέμπειν παρὰ Γέλωνα τὸν Δεινομένεος, ἕς τε Κέρκυραν, κελεύοντας βοηθῆειν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐς Κρήτην ἄλλους, φρονήσαντες εἴ πως ἔν τε γένοιτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ εἰ συγκύψαντες τῶντὸ πρήσσοιεν πάντες, ὡς δεινῶν ἐπιόντων ὁμοίως πᾶσι Ἕλλησι.

### III. THE PASS OF THERMOPYLAE.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ τε στήσονται τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ ἐν οἷσι χώροις. ἡ νικῶσα δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξει. στενωτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο εἶσα τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ μία, ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἐσωτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν, δι' ἣν ἤλωσαν οἱ ἀλόντες Ἑλλήνων ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι, οὐδὲ ᾗδεσαν εἶσαν πρότερον ἢ περ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπύθοντο Τρηχινίων. ταύτην ὦν ἐβουλεύσαντο φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἐσβολὴν μὴ παριέναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὸν βάρβαρον, τὸν δὲ ναυτικὸν στρατὸν πλέειν γῆς τῆς Ἰσθμιαίτιδος ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀγχοῦ τε ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ, ὥστε πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ κατ' ἐκατέρους ἑόντα. 2. Οἳ τε χώροι οὕτω ἔχουσι· τοῦτο μὲν, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ Θρηϊκίου ἐξ εὐρέος συναγεται ἐς στενὸν ἑόντα τὸν πόρον τὸν μεταξὺ νήσου τε Σκιάθου καὶ ἡπείρου Μαγνησίης· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στενοῦ τῆς Εὐβοίης ἤδη τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον δέκεται αἰγιαλός, ἐν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἰρόν. ἡ δὲ αὖ διὰ Τρηχίνος ἔσοδος ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστὶ, τῇ στενωτάτῃ, ἡμίπλεθρον. οὐ μέντοι κατὰ τοῦτό γ' ἐστὶ τὸ στενωτάτον τῆς χώρας τῆς ἄλλης,

ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθέ τε Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὄπισθε, κατὰ τε Ἀλ-  
πηνοὺς ὄπισθε ἑόντας ἐούσα ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη, καὶ ἔμπροσθε  
κατὰ Φοίνικα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ Ἀνθηλῆς πόλιος ἀμαξιτὸς  
ἄλλη μούνη. 3. τῶν δὲ Θερμοπυλίων τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐσπέ-  
ρης οὖρος ἄβατόν τε καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, ὑψηλὸν, ἀνατείνον ἐς  
τὴν Οἶτην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς ὁδοῦ θάλασσα ὑποδέκε-  
ται καὶ τενάγεια. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ ταύτῃ θερμὰ λουτρά,  
τὰ Χύτρους καλέουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καὶ βωμὸς ἰδρυται  
Ἑρακλέος ἐπ' αὐτοῖσι. ἐδέδμητο δὲ τείχος κατὰ ταύτας  
τὰς ἐσβολὰς, καὶ τό γε παλαιὸν πύλαι ἐπῆσαν. ἔδειμαν  
δὲ Φωκέες τὸ τείχος, δείσαντες, ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ  
Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκ-  
τέαται. ἅτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κυταστρέφε-  
σθαί σφεας, τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες· καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὥς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη  
ὁ χῶρος, πᾶν μηχανεόμενοι, ὅπως μὴ σφί ἐσβάλουεν οἱ  
Θεσσαλοὶ ἐς τὴν χώραν. τὸ μὲν νυν τείχος τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε ἐδέδμητο, καὶ τὸ πλεον αὐτοῦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χρό-  
νου ἐκέετο. 4. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῖς ὀρθώσασι ἔδοξε ταύτῃ ἀπα-  
μύνειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν βάρβαρον. κώμη δέ ἐστι  
ἀγχοτάτῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ, Ἀλπηνοὶ οὖνομα· ἐκ ταύτης δὲ ἐπισι-  
τιεῖσθαι ἐλογίζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. οἱ μὲν νυν χῶροι οὗτοι  
τοῖσι Ἕλλησι εἶναι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπιτήδεοι. ἅπαντα γὰρ  
προσκεψάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιλογισθέντες ὅτι οὔτε πλήθει ἔξουσι  
χρᾶσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε ἵππῳ, ταύτῃ σφί ἔδοξε δέκεσθαι  
τὸν ἐπίοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥς δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὸν Πέρ-  
σιν ἑόντα ἐν Πιερίῃ, διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐστρατεύ-  
οντο αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐς Θερμοπύλας πεζῇ, ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ θά-  
λασσαν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον.

5. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς Ξέρξῳ στρατὸς ὀρμεόμενος ἐκ Θέρ-  
μης πόλιος παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα

<sup>ἡρώδης</sup> ἰθὺ Σκιάθου, ἔνθα ἦσαν προφυλάσσειν νέες τρεῖς Ἑλληνίδες, Τροιζηνίη τε καὶ Αἰγιναιή καὶ Ἀττική. προιδόντες δὲ οὗτοι τὰς νέας τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. 6. Τῶν δὲ δέκα νεῶν τῶν βαρβάρων τρεῖς ἐπηλάσαν <sup>ἡρώδης</sup> περὶ τὸ ἔρμα τὸ μεταξὺ ἐὼν Σκιάθου τε καὶ Μαγνησίης, καλέον-  
μενον δὲ Μύρμηκα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ στήλην <sup>ἡρώδης</sup> λίθου ἐπέθηκαν κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔρμα, ὁρμηθέντες αὐτοὶ ἐκ Θέρμης, ὥς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, ἐπέπλεον πάσῃσι τῇσι νηυσὶ, ἔνδεκα ἡμέρας παρέντες μετὰ τὴν βασιλέος ἐξέλασιν ἐκ Θέρμης. τὸ δὲ ἔρμα σφι κατηγήσαιο ἐὼν ἐν πόρῳ μάλιστα Πάμμων Σκύριος. πανημερὸν δὲ πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξάνυσσι <sup>ἡρώδης</sup> τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας ἐπὶ Σηπιάδα τε καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν μεταξὺ Κασθαναίης τε πόλιος ἐόντα καὶ Σηπιάδος ἀκτῆς. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ χώρου καὶ Θερμοπυλεων ἀπαθῆς τε κακῶν ἦν ἡ στρατός.

7. Αἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶται τῶν νεῶν ὥρμεον πρὸς γῆν, ἄλλαι δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνησι ἐπ' ἀγκυρίων· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἐόντος οὐ μεγάλου, πρόκροσσαι ὥρμέοντο ἐς πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ νέας. ταύτην μὲν τὴν εὐφρόνην οὕτω· ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρῳ, ἐξ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας τῆς θαλάσσης ξεσάσης, ἐπέπεσε σφι χειμῶν τε μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἄνεμος ἀπὸ <sup>ἡρώδης</sup> πηλιώτης, τὸν δὴ Ἑλλησποντίην καλέουσι οἱ περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία οἰκήμενοι. ὅσοι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν αὐξόμενον ἔμαθον τὸν ἄνεμον, καὶ τοῖσι οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου, οἱ δ' ἐφθησαν τὸν χειμῶνα ἀνασπᾶσαντες τὰς νέας, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε περιῆσαν καὶ αἱ νέες αὐτῶν· ὅσας δὲ τῶν νεῶν μεταρσίας ἔλαβε, τὰς μὲν ἐξέφερε πρὸς Ἰπνούς καλεομένους τοὺς ἐν Πηλῖφ, τὰς δὲ ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. αἱ δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Σηπιάδα περιέπιπτον, αἱ δὲ ἐς Μελίβοιαν πόλιν, αἱ δὲ ἐς Κασθαναίην ἐξεβράσσοντο. ἦν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος χρῆμα ἀφόρητον. 8. Λέγεται δὲ

λόγος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Βορέην ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἐπεκαλέσαντο, ἐλθόντος σφι ἄλλου χρηστήριον τὸν γαμβρὸν ἐπικουρον καλέσασθαι. Βορέης δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήνων λόγον ἔχει γυναῖκα Ἀττικὴν, Ὀρείθυιαν τὴν Ἐρεχθέος. κατὰ δὴ τὸ κῆδος τοῦτο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς φάτις ὥρμηται, συμβαλλόμενοι σφι τὸν Βορέην γαμβρὸν εἶναι, ναυλοχεόντες τῆς Εὐβοίης ἐν Χαλκίδι, ὡς ἔμαθον αὐξόμενον τὸν χειμῶνα, ἥ καὶ πρὸ τούτου, ἔθνόν τε καὶ ἐπεκαλέοντο τὸν τε Βορέην καὶ τὴν Ὀρείθυιαν τιμωρῆσαι σφι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας, ὡς καὶ πρότερον περὶ Ἀθων. εἰ μὲν νυν διὰ ταῦτα τοῖσι βαρβύροισι ὀρμέουσι ὁ Βορέης ἐπέπεσε, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι· οἱ δ' ὦν Ἀθηναῖοι σφι λέγουσι βοηθήσαντα τὸν Βορέην πρότερον καὶ τότε ἐκεῖνα κατεργάσασθαι, καὶ ἱρὸν ἀπελθόντες Βορέῳ ἰδρύσαντο παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴλισσόν. 9. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ νέας οἱ ἐλάχιστας λέγουσι διαφθαρῆναι, τετρακοσιέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, ἄνδρας τε ἀναριθμήτους, χρημάτων τε πλῆθος ἄφθονον· ὥστε Ἀμεινοκλεί τῷ Κρητίνεω ἀνδρὶ Μύγνητι γηοχέοντι περὶ Σηπιῶδα μεγάλως ἢ ναυηγίῃ αὐτῇ χρηστήῃ ἐγένετο, ὃς πολλὰ μὲν χρύσεια ποτήρια ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐκβρασσόμενα ἀνείλετο, πολλὰ δὲ ἀργύρεα, θησαυροὺς τε τῶν Περσέων εὖρε, ἄλλα τε [χρύσεια] ἄφατα χρήματα περιεβάλετο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τᾶλλα οὐκ εὐτυχέων εὐρήμασι μέγα πλούσιος ἐγένετο· ἦν γάρ τις καὶ τοῦτον ἀχαρὶς σύμφορῃ λυπεύσα παιδοφόνος. 10. σιταγωγῶν δὲ ὀλκάδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλοίων διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἐπὶν ἰρίθμος, ὥστε δέισαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ, μή σφι κεκάκωμένοισι ἐπιθέωνται οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ, ἔρκος ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ναυηγίων περιεβάλοντο. ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχειμαζε τρεῖς· τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε διέειντες καὶ κατάειδοντες γοῇσι τῷ ἀνέμῳ οἱ Μάγοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῇ Θέτῃ καὶ τῇσι Νηρηΐσι θύοντες,

ἔπαυσαν τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ, ἢ ἄλλως πως αὐτὸς ἐθέλων ἐκοπασε. τῇ δὲ Θέτῃ ἔθνον πυθόμενοι παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων τὸν λόγον, ὥς ἐκ τοῦ χώρου τούτου ἀρπασθεῖν ὑπὸ Πηλέος, εἴη τε ἅπασα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἢ Σηπιὺς ἐκείνης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Νηρηίδων. 11. Ὁ μὲν δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπέπαυτο· τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι οἱ ἡμερόσκοποι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταδραμόντες δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ὁ χειμὼν ὁ πρῶτος ἐγένετο, ἐσήμαινον πάντα τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τὴν ναυηγίην. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι σωτῆρι εὐξόμενοι, καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην, ὀπίσω ἡπείγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες ὀλίγας τινας σφί ἀντίξουσας ἔσεσθαι νέας. οἱ μὲν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐλθόντες περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐναυλοχέον, Ποσειδέωνος σωτῆρος ἐπωνυμίην ἀπὸ τούτου ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸδε νομίζοντες. 12. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ὥς ἐπαύσατό τε ὁ ἄνεμος καὶ τὸ κύμα ἔστρωται, κατασπασαντες τὰς νέας ἔπλεον παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, κάμψαντες δὲ τὴν ἄκρην τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἰθὺς ἔπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Παγασέων φέροντα. ἔστι δὲ χώρος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίης, ἔνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονός τε καὶ τῶν συνεταίρων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργούς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα, εὐτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας ἔπλεον ἐς Αἶαν τὴν Κολχίδα· ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἔμελλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφίσειν, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῷ χώρῳ οὖνομα γέγονε Ἀφεταιί. ἐν τούτῳ ὦν ὄρμον οἱ Ξέρξης ἐποιοῦντο.

13. Ξέρξης δὲ καὶ ὁ πεζὸς, πορευθεὶς διὰ Θεσσαλίας καὶ Ἀχαιῆς, ἐσβεβληκὼς ἦν καὶ δὴ τριταῖος ἐς Μηλιάς· ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ μὲν ἄμιλλαν ποιησάμενος ἵππων τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἀποπειρεόμενος καὶ τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἵππου, πυθόμενος ὥς ἀρίστη εἴη τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι· ἔνθα δὲ αἱ Ἑλληνίδες ἵπποι εἰλείποντο πολλόν. τῶν μὲν νυν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ποταμῶν Ἰνόχωνος μούνος οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῇ στρατιῇ τὸ ρέεθρον

πινόμενος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ ποταμῶν ρεόντων οὐδὲ ὅστις μέγιστος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ Ἠπιδανὸς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἀντέσχε εἰ μὴ φλαύρως. 14. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀχαιίῃ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χώρων ἦιε ἐς τὴν Μηλίδα παρὰ κόλπον θαλάσσης, ἐν τῷ ἄμπωτίς τε καὶ ῥηχίῃ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. περὶ δὲ τὸν κόλπον τούτον ἐστὶ <sup>ἡ</sup>χώρος <sup>κεδινὸς</sup>κεδινός, τῇ μὲν εὐρύς, τῇ δὲ καὶ <sup>καὶ</sup>κάρτα <sup>στεινός</sup>στεινός. περὶ δὲ τὸν χώρον οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἄβατα περικληῖται πᾶσαν τὴν Μηλίδα γῆν, Τρηχίνιαί πέτραι καλεόμεναι. πρώτη μὲν νυν πόλις ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἰόντι ἀπ' Ἀχαιίης Ἀντικύρη, παρ' ἣν ποταμὸς Σπερχειὸς ῥέων ἐξ Ἐυιήνων ἐς θάλασσαν <sup>ἐκδίδοι</sup>ἐκδίδοι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου διὰ εἰκοσὶ κου σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς, τῷ οὖνομα κέεται Δύρας, τὸν βοηθέοντα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καιομένῃ λόγος ἐστὶ ἀναφανῆναι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου δι' ἄλλων εἴκοσι σταδίων ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐστὶ, ὃς καλεῖται Μέλας. 15. Τρηχὺς δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ τοῦ Μέλανος τούτου ποταμοῦ πέντε στάδια ἀπέχει. ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ εὐρύτατόν ἐστι πάσης τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων ἐς θάλασσαν, κατ' ἃ Τρηχὺς πεπόλισται· δισχιλίαι τε γὰρ καὶ δισμύρια πλέθρα τοῦ πεδίου ἐστί. τοῦ δὲ οὖρεος, τὸ περικληῖται τὴν γῆν τὴν Τρηχινίην, ἔστι διασφύξ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην Τρηχίνος, διὰ δὲ τῆς διασφύγος Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ῥέει παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρεαν τοῦ οὖρεος. 16. Ἔστι δὲ ἄλλος Φοῖνιξ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ, ὃς ἐκ τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέων ἐς τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ἐκδίδοι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Φοῖνικα ποταμὸν στενωτότατόν ἐστι· ἀμαξιτὸς γὰρ μία μούνη δέδμηται. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ πεντέκαίδεκα στάδια ἐστὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ Φοίνικος ποταμοῦ καὶ Θερμοπυλεῶν κόμῃ τέ ἐστὶ, τῇ οὖνομα Ἀνθίλῃ κέεται, παρ' ἣν δὴ παραρρέων ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, καὶ χώρος περὶ αὐτὴν εὐρύς,

ἐν τῷ Δήμητρός τε ἱρὸν Ἀμφικτυονίδος ἱδρυται, καὶ ἔδραι εἰσὶ Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀμφικτύονος ἱρὸν.

17. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ξέρξης ἐστρατοπεδεύετο τῆς Μηλίδος ἐν τῇ Τρηχινίῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῇ διόδῳ. καλέεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλεόνων Ἑλλήνων Θερμοπύλαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ περιοίκων Πύλαι. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο μὲν νυν ἑκάτεροι ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι χωρίοις· ἐπεκράτεε δὲ ὁ μὲν τῶν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐχόντων πάντων μέχρι Τρηχίνος, οἱ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ μεσαμβρίην φερόντων τὸ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡπείρου. 18. Ἦσαν δὲ οὕδε Ἑλλήνων οἱ ὑπομένοντες τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ· Σπαρτιητέων τε τριηκόσιοι ὀπλῖται, καὶ Τεγεατέων καὶ Μαντινέων χίλιοι, ἡμίσεες ἑκατέρων, ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ τε τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἑκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀρκαδίας χίλιοι· τοσούτοι μὲν Ἀρκύδων, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τετρακόσιοι καὶ ἀπὸ Φλυούντος διηκόσιοι καὶ Μυκηναίων ὀγδῶκοντα· οὗτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρήσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Βοιωτῶν Θεσπιδέων τε ἑπτακόσιοι καὶ Θηβαίων τετρακόσιοι. 19. πρὸς τούτοις ἐπὶ κλητοὶ ἐγένοντο Λοκροὶ τε οἱ Ὀπούντιοι πανστρατιῇ, καὶ Φωκέων χίλιοι. αὐτοὶ γὰρ σφεας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεκαλέσαντο, λέγοντες δι' ἀγγέλων ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἦκοιεν πρόδρομοι τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ συμμάχων πρὸς δόκιμοι πᾶσαν εἶεν ἡμέρην· ἡ θάλασσά τέ σφι εἴη ἐν φυλακῇ, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων τε φρουρομένη καὶ Αἰγινητέων καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντων, καὶ σφι εἴη δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπον· εἶναι δὲ θνητὸν οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἔσσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνεμίχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτῶν μέγιστα ὀφείλειν ὦν καὶ τὸν ἐπελαύνοντα, ὡς ἔοντα θνητὸν, ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης πεσεῖν αἶν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἐβοήθεον ἐς τὴν Τρηχίνα. 20. Τούτοις ἦσαν μὲν

νυν καὶ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατὰ πόλιας ἐκύστων· ὁ δὲ θω-  
 μαζόμενος μάλιστα, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγεό-  
 μενος, Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν Λεωνίδης ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew τοῦ  
 Δέοντος τοῦ Εὐρυκρατίδew τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Εὐρυ-  
 κράτεος τοῦ Πολυδώρου τοῦ Ἀλκαμένεος τοῦ Τηλέκλου  
 τοῦ Ἀρχέλεω τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Δορύσσου τοῦ Λεωβώ-  
 τεω τοῦ Ἐχέστράτου τοῦ Ἡγίος τοῦ Εὐρυσθέneos τοῦ  
 Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομήχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ἰλλου  
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, κτησάμενος τὴν βασιληίην ἐν Σπύρτῃ ἐξ  
 ἀπροσδοκῆτος. 21. διζῶν γάρ οἱ ἐόντων πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἀδελφεῶν, Κλεομένεός τε καὶ Δωριέος, ἀπελήλατο τῆς φρον-  
 τίδος περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κλεομένεος  
 ἀπαιδὸς ἔρσηνός γόνου, Δωριέος τε οὐκετὶ ἐόντος, ἀλλὰ  
 τελευτήσαντος καὶ τούτου ἐν Σικελίῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐς Λεωνίδην  
 ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιληΐη, καὶ διότι πρότερος ἐγεγόνει Κλεομ-  
 βρότου (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν νεώτατος Ἀναξανδρίδew παῖς), καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ εἶχε Κλεομένεος θυγατέρα. ὃς τότε ἦε ἐς Θερμο-  
 πύλας, ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας τε τοὺς κατεστέωτας τριηκο-  
 σίους, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχαον παῖδες ἐόντες. 22. παραλαβὼν  
 δὲ ἀπίκητο καὶ Θηβαίων τοὺς ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν λογισάμενος  
 εἶπον, τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Λεοντιάδης ὁ Εὐρυμάχου. τοῦδε  
 δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτους σπουδὴν ἐποιήσατο Λεωνίδης μούρους  
 Ἑλλήνων παραλαβεῖν, ὅτι σφέων μεγάλως κατηγόρητο  
 μηδίζειν. παρεκάλεε ὧν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι  
 εἴτε συμπέμψουσιν εἴτε καὶ ἀπερέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος τὴν  
 Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίην· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοφρονέοντες ἔπεμπον.  
 23. Τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην πρώτους ἀπέπεμψαν  
 Σπαρτιῆται, ἵνα τούτους ὀρώντες οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι στρα-  
 τεύονται, μηδὲ καὶ οὗτοι μηδίσωσι, ἦν αὐτοὺς πυνθάνονται  
 ὑπερβαλλομένους· μετὰ δὲ, Κάρνεια γάρ σφι ἦν ἐμποδῶν,  
 ἔμελλον ὀρτάσαντες, καὶ φυλακάς λιπόντες ἐν τῇ Σπύρτῃ,



κατὰ τάχος βοηθήσειν πανδημεί. ὥς δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν  
 συμμάχων ἐνένυντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιήσειν· ἦν  
 γὰρ κατὰ τὸντὸ Ὀλυμπίᾳς τούτοις τοῖς πρήγμασι συμ-  
 πεσοῦσα. οὐκ ὦν δοκέοντες κατὰ τάχος οὕτω διακριθῆ-  
 σεσθαι τὸν ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι πόλεμον, ἔπεμπον τοὺς προ-  
 δρόμους.

24. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διενέγνοντο ποιήσειν· οἱ δὲ ἐν  
 Θερμοπύλῃσι Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πέλας ἐγένετο τῆς ἐσβολῆς  
 ὁ Πέρσης, κατὰρρωδέοντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς.  
 τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις ἐδόκεε, ἔλθουσι ἐς  
 Πελοπόννησον, τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχειν ἐν φυλακῇ· Λεωνίδης δὲ,  
 Φωκῶν καὶ Λοκρῶν περιττερχέντων τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ,  
 αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐψηφίζετο, πέμπειν τε ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς  
 πόλεις κελεύοντάς σφι ἐπιβοηθῆειν, ὥς ἑόντων αὐτῶν ὀλί-  
 γων στρατὸν τὸν Μίδων ἀλέξασθαι.

25. Ταῦτα βουλευο-  
 μένων σφέων, ἔπεμπε Ξέρξης κατάσκοπον ἵππεά, ἰδέσθαι  
 ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοῖεν. ἡκηκόες δὲ, ἔτι ἔων ἐν  
 Θεσσαλίῃ, ὥς ἡλίσμένη εἴη ταύτῃ στρατιῇ ὀλίγῃ, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἡγεμόνας ὥς εἶσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Λεωνίδης ἔων  
 γένος Ἡρακλείδης. ὥς δὲ προσήλασε ὁ ἵππεὺς πρὸς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, ἐθελίτο τε καὶ κατῶρα πᾶν μὲν οὐ τὸ στρα-  
 τόπεδον· τοὺς γὰρ ἔσω τεταγμένους τοῦ τείχεος, τὸ ἀνορ-  
 θώσαντες εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, οὐκ οἶδ' ἔτι κατιδέσθαι· ὁ δὲ  
 τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε, τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ὄπλα ἐκέετο.  
 ἔτυχον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξω τεταγμένοι.  
 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ὥρα γυμναζομένους τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς  
 κόμας κτενίζομένους. ταῦτα δὲ θεύμενος ἐβώνυμαζε, καὶ τὸ  
 πλῆθος ἐμάνθανε. μαθὼν δὲ πάντα ἀτρέκως, ἀπήλανε  
 ὀπίσω κατ' ἰσχυρίην· οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐδίωκε, ἀλογίης τε ἐκύ-  
 ρησε πολλῆς· ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ξέρξεα τά περ  
 ὀπώπεε πάντα. 26. ἀκούων δὲ Ξέρξης οὐκ εἶχε συμβα-

λέσθαι τὸ εἶν, ὅτι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἀπολεύμενοί τε καὶ ἀπολέοντες κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλ' αὐτῷ γελοῖα γὰρ ἐφαίνοντο ποιεῖν, μετεπέμψατο Δημήρητον τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, εἶντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν εἰρώτα Ξέρξης ἕκαστα τούτων, ἐθέλων μαθεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Ἦκουσας μὲν μεν καὶ πρότερον, εὖτε ὠρμῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· ἀκούσας δὲ γέλωτά με ἔβην λέγοντα τῇ περ ὧρων ἐκβησόμενα πρήγματα ταῦτα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθείην ἀσκέειν ἀντία σεῦ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι. ἀκούσῃν δὲ καὶ νῦν. 27. οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἀπικάται μαχεσόμενοι ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἐσόδου, καὶ ταῦτα παρασκευάζονται. νόμος γάρ σφι οὕτω ἔχων ἐστί· ἐπεὰν μέλλωσι κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ, τότε τὰς κεφαλὰς κοσμέονται. ἐπίστασο δὲ, εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπύρτῃ καταστρέψαι, ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων τό σε, βασιλεῦ, ὑπομενέει χεῖρας ἀνταιρόμενον· νῦν γὰρ πρὸς βασιλῆτην τε καλλίστην τῶν ἐν Ἑλλήσι προσφέρειαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. Κῦρτα τε δὴ ἄπιστα Ξέρξῃ ἐφαίνετο τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ δεύτερα ἐπειρώτα, ὅτινα τρόπον τοσοῦτοι εἶντες τῇ ἐωυτοῦ στρατιῇ μαχέσονται. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐμοὶ χρᾶσθαι ὡς ἀνδρὶ ψεύστῃ, ἣν μὴ ταῦτά τοι ταύτῃ ἐκβῇ, τῇ ἐγὼ λέγω. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Ξέρξεα.

28. Τέσσερας μὲν δὴ παρεξήκε ἡμέρας, ἐλπίζων αἰεὶ σφεας ἀποδρῆσσεσθαι. πέμπτῃ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐφαίνοντο ἀναιδείῃ τε καὶ ἀβουλίῃ διαχρεόμενοι μένειν, πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Μῆδους τε καὶ Κισσίου<sup>αιων</sup>ς θυμω<sup>αιων</sup> θείς, ἐντειλόμενός σφεας ζωγρήσαντας ἀγειν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. ὡς δ' ἐπέπεσον φερόμενοι ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ Μῆδοι, ἔπιπτον πολλοί· ἄλλοι δ' ἐπέσῃσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μεγάλως προσπταίνοντες. δῆλον δ' ἐποίουν

παντὶ τε<sup>τῷ</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα αὐτῷ βασιλεί, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ συμβολή δι' ἡμέρης. 29. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι τρηχέως περιείπαν<sup>καὶ περιέειπον</sup> το, ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν ὑπεξήσαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκδεξάμενοι ἐπῆσαν, τοὺς ἀθανάτους ἐκύλεε βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἥρχε Ἰδύρνης, ὡς δὴ οὗτοί γε <sup>ἐν</sup>επιτεώς κατεργασόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ οὗτοι συνέμισγον τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφέροντο τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς Μηδικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, ἅτε ἐν στεινωπόρῳ τε χώρῳ μαχόμενοι, καὶ δούρασι βραχυτέροιςι χρεόμενοι ἤπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες πλήθει χρήσασθαι.

30. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐμίχοντο ἀξίως λόγου, ἄλλα τε ἀποδεικνύμενοι ἐν οὐκ ἐπισταμένοιςι μάχεσθαι ἐξέπιστάμενοι, καὶ ὅκως ἐντρέψειαν τὰ νῶτα, ἁλῆες φεύγεσκον δῆθεν· οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι ὀρέοντες φεύγοντας βοῇ τε καὶ πατύγῳ ἐπῆσαν, οἱ δ' ἂν καταλαμβανόμενοι ὑπέστρεφον ἀντίοι εἶναι τοῖσι βαρβύροιςι, μεταστρεφόμενοι δὲ κατέβαλλον πλήθει ἀναριθμήτους τῶν Περσέων· ἐπιπτον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐνθαῦτα ὀλίγοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδυνάτο παραλαβεῖν οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐσόδου, πειρεόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τέλεα καὶ παντοίως προσβύλλοντες, ἀπῆλυνον ὀπίσω.

31. Ἐν ταύτῃσι τῇσι προσόδοιςι τῆς μάχης λέγεται βασιλέα θινεύμενον τρεῖς ἀναδραμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, δέισαντα περὶ τῇ στρατιῇ. τότε μὲν οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἀέθλων· ἅτε γὰρ ὀλίγων ἐόντων, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας κατατετρωματίσθαι τε καὶ οὐκ οἴους τε ἔσσεσθαι ἔτι χεῖρας ἀνταείρασθαι, συνέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τάξιν τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνηα κεκοσμημένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐν μέρει ἕκαστοι ἐμάχοντο, πλὴν Φωκέων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐς τὸ οὖρος ἐτάχθησαν φυλάξοντες τὴν ἀτραπὸν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν εὗρισκον ἀλλοιότερον οἱ Πέρσαι ἢ τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐνώ-

ρων, ἀπήλαινον. 32. Ἀπορέοντος δὲ βασιλέως ὃ τι χρήσεται τῷ παρόντι πρήγματι, Ἐπιώλτης ὁ Εὐρυδύμου ἀνὴρ Μηλιεύς ἦλθέ οἱ ἐς λόγους, ὥς μέγα τι παρὰ βασιλέως δοκέων οἴσσεσθαι, ἔφρασε τε τὴν ἀτραπὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ οὐρεὸς φέρουσαν ἐς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ διέφθειρε τοὺς ταύτη ὑπομείναντας Ἑλλήνων. ὕστερον δὲ δέσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ οἱ φηγόντι ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλληγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, κατήλθε γὰρ ἐς Ἀντικύρην, ἀπέθανε ὑπὸ Ἀθηνάδεω, ἀνδρὸς Τρηχινίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηνάδης οὗτος ἀπέκτεινε μὲν Ἐπιώλτην δι' ἄλλην αἰτίην, τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι σημανέω, ἐτιμίθη μέντοι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν ἑσθόν. Ἐπιώλτης μὲν οὕτω ὕστερον τούτων ἀπέθανε. 33. Ἔστι δὲ ἕτερος λεγόμενος λόγος, ὥς Ὀνήτης τε ὁ Φαναγόρεω ἀνὴρ Καρύστιος καὶ Κορυδαλὸς Ἀντικυρεὺς εἰσι οἱ εἶπαντες πρὸς βασιλεία τούτους τοὺς λόγους, καὶ περιγηγησάμενοι τὸ οὖρος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστός. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τῷδε χρή σταθμώσασθαι. ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πυλαγόροι ἐπεκήρυξαν οὐκ ἐπὶ Ὀνήτῃ τε καὶ Κορυδαλῷ ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἐπιώλτῃ τῷ Τρηχινίῳ, πάντως κου τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον πυθόμενοι, τοῦτο δὲ φεύγοντα τὸν Ἐπιώλτην ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην γίδαμεν. εἰδείη μὲν γὰρ ἂν, καὶ ἔων μὴ Μηλιεύς, ταύτην τὴν ἀτραπὸν Ὀνήτης, εἰ τῇ χώρῃ πολλὰ ὠμικηκῶς εἶη· ἀλλ' Ἐπιώλτης γάρ ἐστι ὁ περιγηγησάμενος τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τὴν ἀτραπὸν, τοῦτον αἴτιον γράφω.

34. Ἐέρξης δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἤρεσε τὰ ὑπέσχετο ὁ Ἐπιώλτης κατεργάσεσθαι, αὐτίκα περίχαρής γενόμενος ἔπεμπε Ἰδάρνεα καὶ τῶν ἐστρατήγεε Ἰδάρνης. ὠρμέατο δὲ περὶ λύχων ἀφὰς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τὴν δὲ ἀτραπὸν ταύτην ἐξεύρον μὲν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Μηλίεες, ἐξευρόντες δὲ Θεσσα-

λοῖσι κατηγήσαντο ἐπὶ Φωκέας τότε ἄτε οἱ Φωκέες, <sup>strengthened</sup> φρούραν-  
 τες τείχει τὴν ἐσβολὴν, ἦσαν ἐν <sup>smaller force</sup> σκέπη τοῦ πολέμου· ἐκ  
<sup>not</sup> τε τρῶσδε κατεδέδεκτο εἶσα οὐδὲν χρηστὴ Μηλιέυσι.

35. Ἐχει δὲ ὧδε ἡ ἀτραπὸς αὕτη· ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ διὰ τῆς διασφύγος ῥέοντος· οὐνομα  
 δὲ τῷ οὐρεὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῇ ἀτραπῇ τῶντὸ κέεται, Ἀνόπαια·  
 τείνει δὲ ἡ Ἀνόπαια αὕτη κατὰ ῥύχιν τοῦ οὐρεος, λίγει δὲ  
 κατὰ τε Ἀλπηνὸν πόλιν, πρώτην εἶσαν τῶν Δοκρίδων  
 πρὸς τῶν Μηλιέων, καὶ κατὰ Μελάμπυγόν τε καλεόμενον  
 λίθον καὶ κατὰ Κερκώπων ἔδρας, τῇ καὶ τὸ στενωτάτον  
 ἐστι. 36. κατὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀτραπὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔχουσιν  
 οἱ Πέρσαι, τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες, ἐπορεύοντο πᾶσαν τὴν  
 νύκτα, ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες οὐρεα τὰ Οἰταίων, ἐν ἀριστερῇ  
 δὲ τὰ Τρηχινίων· ἥως τε δὴ δέφαινε, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ  
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ οὐρεος. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρεος ἐφύλασ-  
 σον, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, Φωκέων χίλιοι ὀπλί-  
 ται, ῥυόμενοι τε τὴν σφετέρην χώραν καὶ φρουρούμενοι τὴν  
 ἀτραπὸν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ κάτω ἐσβολὴ ἐφυλάσσετο ὑπὸ ὧν  
 εἴρηται, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ οὐρεος ἀτραπὸν ἐθέλονται Φωκέες  
 ὑποδεξάμενοι Λεωνίδῃ ἐφύλασσαν. 37. Ἐμαθον δὲ σφας  
 οἱ Φωκέες ὧδε ἀναβεβηκότας· ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ <sup>secretly</sup> ἐλάνθανον  
 οἱ Πέρσαι τὸ οὐρος πᾶν Ἴον δρυῶν ἐπίπλεον. ἦν μὲν δὴ  
 ἡννεμή, ψόφου δὲ γινομένου πολλοῦ, ὥς οἶκος ἦν φύλλον  
 ὑποκεχυμένων ὑπὸ τοῖσι ποσὶ, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον οἱ Φωκέες  
 καὶ ἐνέδυνον τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντίκα οἱ βάρβαροι παρήσαν.  
 ὥς δὲ εἶδον ἄνδρας ἄνδρῳμένους ὄπλα, ἐν θώματι ἐγένοντο·  
 ἐλπόμενοι γὰρ οὐδὲν σφὶ φανήσεσθαι ἀντίξου, ἱεκύρησαν  
 στρατῷ. 38. ἐνθαῦτα Ἰδάρης, καταρρωδίσας μὴ οἱ  
 Φωκέες ἔωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἶρετο τὸν Ἐπιάλτην ὁποδ-  
 πὸς εἴη ὁ στρατὸς. πυθόμενος δὲ ἀτρεκέως, διάτασσε τοὺς  
 Πέρσας ὥς ἐς μάχην. οἱ δὲ Φωκέες, ὥς ἐβύλλοντο τοῖσι

τοξεύμασι πολλοῖσί τε καὶ πυκνοῖσι, οἷχοντο φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρεος τὸν κόρυμβον, ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ σφέας ὠρμήθησαν ἀρχῇ, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς ἀπολεόμενοι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐφρόνεον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἑπιάλτεα καὶ Ὑδάρνεα Πέρσαι Φωκέων μὲν οὐδένα λόγον ἐποιεῦντο, οἱ δὲ κατέβαινον τὸ οὖρος κατὰ τάχος.

39. Τοῖσι δὲ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτον μὲν ὁ μάντις Μεγιστήης, ἐσιδὼν ἐς τὰ ἱρά, ἔφρασε τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ἅμα ἡοὶ σφί θάνατον. ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτόμολοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐξαγγείλαντες τῶν Περσέων τὴν περίοδον. οὗτοι μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐσήμηναν, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ ἡμεροσκοποὶ καταδραμόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων, ἥδη διαφαινούσης ἡμέρης. ἰνθαῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίζοντο αἰγνώμῃ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀντέτεινον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διακριθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσοντο καὶ διασκεδασθέντες κατὰ πόλιν ἕκαστοι ἐτράποντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἅμα Λεωνίδῃ μένειν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάδατο. 40. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς σφεας ἀπέπεμψε Λεωνίδης, μὴ ἀπόλωνται κηδόμενος. αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιητέων τοῖσι παρעוּסִי οὐκ ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν, ἐς τὴν ἦλθον φυλάζοντες ἀρχήν. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλειστός εἰμι, Λεωνίδην, ἐπεῖτε αἰσθετο τοὺς συμμάχους ἔοντας ἀπροθυμούς, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας συνδιακινδυνεύειν, κελεύσαι σφεας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπιέναι οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν. μένοντι δὲ αὐτοῦ κλέος μέγμῃ ἐλείπετο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτης εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐξηλείφετο. 41. ἐκέχρηστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίης τοῖσι Σπαρτιητέσι χρεομένοισι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχῆς ἐγειρομένου, ἡ Λακεδαιμόνα ἀνάστατον γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἡ τὸν βασιλέα σφείων ἀπολέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σφί ἐν ἔπεσι ἐξαμέτροισι χρᾶ, ἔχοντα ὧδε·

παρετατο :

Ἑρμῖν δ', ὃ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες <sup>ἠνδρῶν</sup> εὐρυχοροί,  
 Ἡ μέγα ἄστυ <sup>ἐρικυδέες</sup> ὑπ' ἀνδράσι Περσέδῃσι  
 Πέρβεται· ἢ τὸ μὲν οὐκί, ἀφ' Ἑρακλέος δὲ γενέθλης  
 Πενθήσει βασιλῇ φθίμενον Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος.  
 Οὐ γὰρ τὸν ταύρων <sup>ἰσχυρῶν</sup> σχήσει μένος οὐδὲ λεόντων  
 Ἐκ' Ἀντιβίην· Ζηνὸς γὰρ ἔχει μένος· οὐδὲ ἔφημι  
 Σχήσεσθαι, πρὶν τῶνδ' ἕτερον διὰ πάντα δάσσηται.

Ταυτά τε δὴ ἐπιλεγόμενον Λεωνίδην, καὶ βουλόμενον κλέος  
 καταθέσθαι μούνων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀποπέμψαι τοὺς συμμά-  
 χους, μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ διένειχθεύσας οὕτω ἀκόσμως οἴχε-  
 σθαι τοὺς οἰχομένους. 42. μαρτύριον δέ μοι καὶ τόδε  
 οὐκ ἔλαχιστον τούτου πέρι γέγονε· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς  
 ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μάντιν ὃς εἶπετο τῇ στρατῇ ταύτῃ  
 Μεγιστίνῃ τὸν Ἀκαρνηνα, λεγόμενον εἶναι τὰ ἀνεκαθεῖν  
 ἀπὸ Μελάμποδος, τοῦτον τὸν εἶπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν τὰ μέλ-  
 λοντά σφι ἐκβαίνειν, φανερός ἐστι Λεωνίδης ἀποπέμπων,  
 ἵνα μὴ συναπόληταί σφι. ὁ δὲ ἀποπεμπόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν  
 οὐκ ὑπελείπετο, τὸν δὲ παῖδα συστρατευόμενον, ἔοντα οἱ  
 μουνυογενέα, ἀπέπεμψε. 43. Οἱ μὲν νυν σύμμαχοι οἱ ἀπο-  
 πεμπόμενοι οἴχοντό τε ἀπιόντες, καὶ ἐπείθοντο Λεωνίδῃ·  
 Θεσπείες δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι κατέμειναν μόνοι παρὰ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοισι. τούτων δὲ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἀέκοντες ἔμενον, καὶ οὐ  
 βουλόμενοι (κατείχε γὰρ σφεας Λεωνίδης ἐν ὁμήρῳ λογῶ  
 ποιεύμενος)· Θεσπείες δὲ ἐκόντες μάλιστα, οἱ οὐκ ἔφασαν  
 ἀπολιπόντες Λεωνίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξεσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καταμείναντες συναπέθανον. ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Δημόφιλος Διαδρόμεω.

44. Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἡλίου ἀνατείδαντος σπογδὰς ἐποίη-  
 σατο, ἐπισχὼν χρόνον ἐς ἀγορῆς <sup>ἀγορῆς</sup> καὶ μάλιστα <sup>ἐπὶ τῇ</sup> πληθύνειν  
 πρόσδοον ἐποίεετο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπέσταλτο ἐξ Ἐπιάλτεω οὕτω.  
 ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ οὔρεος ἢ κατάβασις <sup>σύντομωτέρῃ</sup> τέ ἐστι, καὶ

βραχύτερος ὁ χῶρος πολλὸν ἤπερ ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνά-  
 βασις. οἳ τε δὴ βάρβαροι οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξεα προσήϊσαν·  
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην Ἕλληνες, ὡς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔξοδον  
 ποιούμενοι, ἤδη πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεξήϊσαν ἐς  
 τὸ εὐρύτερον τοῦ <sup>ἑλίου</sup> δυχέος. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχεος  
 ἐφυλάσσετο, οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας ὑπεξιόντες ἐς  
 τὰ στεινόπορα ἐμάχοντο. τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες ἔξω τῶν  
 στεινῶν, ἐπιπτον πλήθει πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὅπισθε  
 γὰρ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν τελέων ἔχοντες μαστίγας ἐρράπιζον  
 πάντα ἄνδρα, αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐποτρύνοντες. 45. πολλοὶ  
 μὲν δὲ ἐσέπιπτον αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διεφθείροντο,  
 πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες κατέπατεον <sup>ἑλίου</sup> ζωὴ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων· ἦν  
 δὲ λόγος οὐδεὶς τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου. ἅτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι  
 τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιούτων τὸ  
 οὖρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, παραχρεόμενοι τε καὶ ἀτέοντες. δούρατα μὲν  
 νυν τοῖσι πλέοσι αὐτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγχανε κατετήγῃ  
 ἤδη, οἱ δὲ τοῖσι ξίφεσι διεργάζοντο τοὺς Πέρσας. 46. Καὶ  
 Λεωνίδης τε ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ πίπτει, ἀνὴρ γενόμενος ἄρι-  
 στος, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐνομαστοὶ Σπαρτιητέων, τῶν  
 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων γενομένων ἐπυθόμην τὰ οὐνόματα·  
 ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τριηκοσίων. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 Περσέων πίπτουσι ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ οὐνομα-  
 στοὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δαρείου δύο παῖδες, Ἀβροκόμης τε καὶ  
 Ὑπεράνθης, ἐκ τῆς Ἀρτάνεω θυγατρὸς Φραταγοῦνης γεγο-  
 νότες Δαρεῖω. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάνης Δαρείου μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 ἦν ἀδελφεός, Ὑστάσπεος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος παῖς, ὃς καὶ  
 ἐκδιδούς τὴν θυγατέρα Δαρεῖω τὸν οἶκον πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ  
 ἐπέδωκε, ὡς μόνου οἱ εἰσῆς ταύτης τέκνου. 47. Ξέρξῃ  
 τε δὴ δύο ἀδελφοὶ ἐνθαῦτα πίπτουσι μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 νεκροῦ τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· Περσέων τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὥθι-



σμός ἐγένετο πολλός, ἐς ὃ τοῦτόν τε ἀρετῇ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπεξείρυσαν, καὶ ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους τετράκις. τοῦτο δὲ συνεστήκει μέχρι οὗ οἱ σὺν Ἐπιάλτῃ παρεγένοντο. ὥς δὲ τούτους ἤκειν ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ἐτεροιοῦτο τὸ νεῖκος. 48. ἔς τε γὰρ τὸ στεῖνὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρεον ὀπίσω, καὶ παραμεινόμενοι τὸ τεῖχος, ἐλθόντες ἔζοντο ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν πάντες ἀλέες οἱ ἄλλοι πλην Θηβαίων. ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ. ἐν τούτῳ σφέας τῷ χώρῳ ἀλεξομένους μαχαίρησι, τοῖσι αὐτῶν ἐτύγχανον ἔτι περιεοῦσαι, καὶ χερσὶ καὶ στόμασι, κατέχῳσαν οἱ βάρβαροι βάλλοντες, ἡμεῖς οὖν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐπισπόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἔρυμα τοῦ τείχους συγχώσαντες, οἱ δὲ περιελθόντες πάντοθεν περιστάδον.

49. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Θεσπείων τοιούτων γενομένων, ὅμως λέγεται ἄριστος ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι Σπαρτιτῆς Διηνέκης, τὸν τότε φασὶ εἰπεῖν τὸ ἔπος πρὶν ἢ συμμίξαι σφέας τοῖσι Μίδοις· πυθόμενον πρὸς τευ τῶν Τρηχινίων ὥς, ἐπεὰν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπιέωσι τὰ τοξεύματα, τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ πληθέος τῶν οὔστῶν ἀποκρύπτουσι, — τοσοῦτό τι πληθος αὐτῶν εἶναι· τὸν δὲ οὐκ ἐκπλαγέντα τούτοις εἰπεῖν, ἐν ἀλογίῃ ποιούμενον τὸ τῶν Μήδων πληθος, ὥς πάντα σφί ἀγαθὰ ὁ Τρηχίνιος ξείνος ἀγγέλλοι, εἰ ἀποκρυπτόντων τῶν Μίδων τὸν ἥλιον, ὑπὸ σκιῇ ἔσοιτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡ μάχη, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἡλίῳ. 50. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τοιοῦτότροπα ἔπεά φασι Διηνέκεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον λιπέσθαι μνημόσυνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἀριστεύσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοί, Ἀλφεός τε καὶ Μάρων Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες. Θεσπείων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew.

51. Θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφί αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασι ἢ ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἴχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

Μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἰμάχοντο  
Ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρ-  
τιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

Ὡ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τῇδε  
Κείμεθα τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι.

Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

Μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία, ὃν ποτε Μῆδος  
Σπερχεῖον ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
Μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδὼς  
Οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν.

ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλῃσι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος  
ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτύονές εἰσὶ σφεας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες,  
τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεός  
ἐστι κατὰ ξεινίην ὁ ἐπιγράψας.

52. Δύο δὲ τούτων τῶν τριηκοσίων λέγεται Εὐρυτόν τε  
καὶ Ἀριστόδημον, παρέον αὐτοῖσι ἀμφοτέροισι κοινῷ λόγῳ  
χρησαμένοισι ἢ ἀποσωθῆναι ὁμοῦ ἐς Σπάρτην (ὥς μεμετι-  
μένοι τε ἦσαν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὑπὸ Λεωνίδῳ, καὶ κατε-  
κέατο ἐν Ἀλπηνοῖσι ὀφθαλμιῶντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον), ἢ εἴ γε  
μὴ ἐβούλοντο νοστήσαι, ἀποθανεῖν ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοις, πα-  
ρεόν σφι τούτων τὰ ἕτερα ποίειν, οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι ὁμοφρονέειν·  
ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ διενειχθέντας, Εὐρυτον μὲν πυθόμενον τὴν τῶν  
Περσέων περίδου, αἰτήσαντά τε τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐνδύντα,  
ἄγειν αὐτὸν κελεύσαι τὸν εἴλωτα ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους· ὅκως  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγε, τὸν μὲν ἀγαγόντα οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, τὸν  
δὲ ἐσπεσόντα ἐς τὸν ὄμιλον διαφθαρῆναι· Ἀριστόδημον δὲ  
λειποψυχέοντα λειφθῆναι. 53. εἰ μὲν νυν ἦν μόνον  
Ἀριστόδημον ἀλγίσαντα ἀπονοστήσαι ἐς Σπάρτην, ἢ καὶ  
ὁμοῦ σφέων ἀμφοτέρων τὴν κομιδὴν γενέσθαι, δοκέειν ἐμοί,

οὐκ ἂν σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι· νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολομένου, τοῦ δὲ τῆς μὲν αὐτῆς ἐχομένου προφύσιος, οὐκ ἐβελήσαντος δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀναγκαίως σφι ἔχειν μνηῖσαι μεγάλως Ἀριστοδήμῳ. οἱ μὲν νυν οὕτω σωθῆναι λέγουσι Ἀριστόδημον ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ διὰ πρόφασιν τοιήνδε· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελον πεμφθέντα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἐξέον αὐτῷ καταλαβεῖν τὴν μάχην γινομένην, οὐκ ἐβελήσαι, ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ περιγενέσθαι, τὸν δὲ συνάγγελον αὐτοῦ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀποθανεῖν.

54. ἀπονοστήσας δὲ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Ἀριστόδημος ὄνειδός τε εἶχε καὶ ἀτιμίην. πάσχων δὲ τοιάδε ἡτίμωτο· οὔτε οἱ πῦρ οὐδεὶς ἔναυε Σπαρτιητίων οὔτε διελέγετο, ὄνειδός τε εἶχε ὁ τρέσας Ἀριστόδημος καλεόμενος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι μάχῃ ἀνέλαβε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπενειχθεῖσάν οἱ αἰτίην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἀποπεμφθέντα ἄγγελον ἐς Θεσσαλίην τῶν τριηκοσίων τούτων περιγενέσθαι, τῷ ὄνομαι εἶναι Παντίτην· νοστήσαντα δὲ τοῦτον ἐς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἡτίμωτο, ἀπάγξασθαι.

55. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῶν ὁ Λεωντιάδης ἐστρατήγεε, τέως μὲν μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐόντες ἐμάχοντο ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι πρὸς τὴν βασιλέως στρατιήν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον κατυπέρτερα τῶν Περσέων γινόμενα τὰ πρίγματα, οὕτω δὴ τῶν σὺν Λεωνίδῃ Ἑλλήνων ἐπειγομένων ἐπὶ τὸν κολῶνόν, ἀποσχισθέντες τούτων, χεῖράς τε προέτεινον καὶ ἦσαν ἄσπον τῶν βαρβύρων, λέγοντες τὸν ἀληθέστατον τῶν λόγων, ὡς καὶ μὴδίζουσι καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐν πρώτοισι ἔδοσαν βασιλεί, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίης ἐχόμενοι ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἀπικοίατο, καὶ ἀναίτιοι εἶεν τοῦ τρώματος τοῦ γεγονότος βασιλεί. ὥστε ταῦτα λέγοντες περιεγίνοντο· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς τῶν λόγων τούτων μάρτυρας. 56. οὐ μέντοι τά γε πάντα εὐτύχησαν· ὡς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔλαβον οἱ

βάρβαροι ἔλθοντας, τοὺς μὲν τινας καὶ ἀπέκτειναν προσιόντας, τοὺς δὲ πλεύνας αὐτῶν, κελεύσαντος Ξέρξω, ἔστιζον στίγματα βασιλήϊα, ἄρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Λεωντιάδω, τοῦ τὸν παῖδα Εὐρύμαχον χρόνῳ μετέπειτεν ἐφόνευσαν Πλαταιέες, στρατηγήσαντα ἀνδρῶν Θηβαίων τετρακοσίων, καὶσχόντα τὸ ἄστυ τὸ Πλαταιέων.

57. Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ Θερμοπύλας Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἡγωνίσαντο· Ξέρξης δὲ καλέσας Δημάρτην εἰρώτα ἄρξάμενος ἐνθένδε· Δημάρhte, ἀνὴρ εἰς ἀγαθός. <sup>ἐν</sup>τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ ἀληθείῃ· ὅσα γὰρ εἶπας, ἅπαντα ἀπέβη οὕτω· νῦν δέ μοι εἶπε, κόσσοι τινές εἰσι οἱ λοιποὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τούτων ὁκόσοι τοιοῦτοι τὰ πολέμια, εἴτε καὶ ἅπαντες. ὁ δ' εἶπε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλήθος μὲν πάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλὸν, καὶ πόλεις πολλαί· τὸ δὲ ἐθέλεις ἐκμαθεῖν, εἰδήσεις. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη, πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μίλιστί κη, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες εἰσὶ ὁμοιοὶ τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχεσαμένοισι· οἳ γε μὲν ἄλλοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις μὲν οἱ ὁμοιοὶ ἀγαθοὶ δέ. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ξέρξης· Δημάρhte, τέφ τρόπῳ ἀπονητότατα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐπικρατήσομεν; ἴθι ἐξηγέο. σὺ γὰρ ἔχεις αὐτῶν τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων, <sup>ὡς</sup> διὰ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος. . . .

58. Ταῦτα εἶπας Ξέρξης διεξήγε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν· καὶ Λεωνίδω, ἀκηκόως ὅτι βασιλεὺς τε ἦν καὶ στρατηγὸς Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐκέλευσε ἀποταμόντας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυρῶσαι. δὴλὰ μοι πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὐκ ἤκιστα γέγονε, ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης πάντων δὴ μάλιστα ἀνδρῶν ἐθυμώθη ζῶντι Λεωνίδῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τὸν νεκρὸν ταῦτα παρενόμησε, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν μάλιστα νομίζουσι τῶν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, τοῖσι ἐπέτέτακτο ποιεῖν.

IV. ARTEMISIUM.—MARCH OF XERXES TO ATHENS.—  
SALAMIS.—RETREAT OF XERXES TO ASIA.

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας Πλαταιέες, ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἑόντες, συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας· Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας· Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυνώνιοι δὲ δώδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτὼ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτὰ, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κεῖοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο. Λοκροὶ δὲ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτὰ. 2. ἦσαν μὲν ὧν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δὲ μοι καὶ ὥς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισῶν νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πᾶρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, μία καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ διηκόσιαι. πρὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται, Εὐρυβιάδεα τὸν Εὐρυκλείδew. οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἦν μὴ ὁ Δάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἔψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στρατεύμα. 3. ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχαῖς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὥς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὼν εἶη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεπονημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὥς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλὰς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσοῦτῳ κἀκίον ἔστι, ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἀντέτεινον, ἀλλ' εἶκον μέχρι

ὅσων κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὥς διίδεξαν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσέα, περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡδὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Πausaniaw ὕβριν προῖσχύμενοι, ἀπέλονται τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι, ὥς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς κατυχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφειτὰς, καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὥς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, κατὰρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γινόντες δὲ σφεας οἱ Εὐβοεῖς ταῦτα βουλευομένους, ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιῶδew προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβίνας τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα ταλάντοις, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιῶδew τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοὶ πέντε τάλαντα, ὥς παρ' ἐωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδοῦς. ὥς δὲ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, — Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου, Κορινθίων στρατηγὸς, τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μόνος, φάμενος ἀποπλώσεσθαι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενεῖν, — πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπομόσας· Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεὶ τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἂν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψει ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους. ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἡγόρευε, καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πληγέντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο· αὐτὸς τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκέρδηκε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων· ἀλλ' ἡπιστάτο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὲ κατέμεινάν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐνανμάχησαν. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε· ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς περὶ δαίτην πρώτην γινομένην ἀπύκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρεῖν, εἴ πως ἔλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλώειν οὐ κώ σφι ἔδόκεε, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, μή πως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλῶντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν, φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλάβοι· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδεε δὲ μηδὲ πυρφόρον, τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι. 7. πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν ταῦδε ἐμηχανέοντο· τῶν νεῶν ἀπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας, περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιῶθον (ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθῇσι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλῶνται Εὐβοίαν) κατὰ τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὐριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν, οἱ μὲν ταύτη ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσιν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίας. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόφ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλῶντων, ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφετῇσι ἐποιεύντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεύντο τῶν νεῶν, — ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος, δῦτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὸ Πήλιον γενομένη πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημύτων τοῖσι Πέρσησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιβάλετο, — οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόφ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσιν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτε μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπύκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ἀτρεκέως·

θωνμάζω δὲ, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστι ἀληθέα. λέγεται γὰρ, ὡς ἔξ Ἀφετέων <sup>Ἀφαιών</sup> ~~δυσ~~ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπύκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κη τούτους ἐς ὀγδῶκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διεξεληθών. 9. λέγεται μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι ἱκέλα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα. περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω, πλοῖφ μιν ἀπύκισθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπύκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμνηε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τὴν τε ναυήγην ὥς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὐβοίαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, <sup>ὁλοσυνή</sup> λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδονσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων, ἐρίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μέιναντάς τε καὶ <sup>ἡλικον</sup> αὐλίσθεντάς, μετέπειπεν νύκτα μέσσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. 10. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε, δέϊλιν ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐπανεπλῶον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπώπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου. ὀρέοντες δὲ σφεας οἱ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλῶντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφί μανίην ἐπενείκαντες, ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ. τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντές σφεας εὐπετέως αἰρήσειν, οἰκότα κῦρτα ἐλπίσαντες. τὰς μὲν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀρέοντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἐωυτῶν πλήθει τε πολλαπλησσίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλωούσας, καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μὲν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὖνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο, συμφορὴν τε ἐποיעῖντο μεγάλην, ὀρέοντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφί ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἄμιλλαν ἐποיעῖντο, ὅκως αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἐλὼν δῶρα παρὰ βασιλέος λάμ-



ψεται. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι <sup>ἐν τῷ</sup> λόγῳ ἦν πλείστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς ἐσήμνηε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβύροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον· δεύτερα δὲ σημίναντος, ἔργου εἶχοντο, ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἰρέουσι τῶν βαρβύρων, καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως ἀδελφεὸν Φιλίωνα τὸν Χέρσιος, <sup>ἀντα καὶ</sup> λογιμον ἑόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἶλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχυραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήϊον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέελυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Δήμνιος μούνος τῶν σὺν βασιλεῖ Ἑλλήνων ἑόντων αὐτόμολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χώρον ἐν Σαλαμίνι. 12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἀπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφορέοντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφετάς, καὶ περὶ τε τὰς πρῶτας τῶν νεῶν εἰλέοντο, καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἦκον· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι σφεας ἕκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίῃ καρτερῇ, ἕκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λύβρος, καὶ ρεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὠρμημένα, βρονταὶ τε σκληραί. 13. καὶ τούτοις μὲν τοιαύτη νύξ ἐγίνετο· τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλῶειν Εὐβοίαν ἢ αὐτὴ περ ἐοῦσα νύξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι

ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγῃι φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγένετο ἄχαρι· ὥς γὰρ δὴ πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο εὐοῖσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι, καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐποιεέτό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως ἂν ἐξισωθῇ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικόν, μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη. οὗτοι μὲν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο.

14. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἀφετῇσι βάρβαροι, ὥς σφι ὑσμένοισι ἡμέρῃ ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας, καὶ σφι ὑπέχρᾱτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ἐπεβώθειον ῥέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικάι. αὐταί τε δὴ σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι, καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίῃ ἐλθούσα ὥς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλῶντες τὴν Εὐβοίαν πάντες εἶσαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι, ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρονῇ ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ, δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμáινεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμáινοντες, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τῇσι αὐτῇσι ἡμέρῃσι τὰς ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας, καὶ τὴν πεζομαχίαν τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὲ παρέκελεύοντο ὅπως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅπως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι.

16. ὥς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλων, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μη-

νοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν, ἐκυκλεύντο ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς. ἐνθεύτην οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανεπλώον τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγένοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάλῃος τε καὶ πλήθους αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐπιπτε, ταρασσομένων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρήμα ἐποιοῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλίγων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβύρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἐκότεροι.

17. Παρὴν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχίνος κατάσκοπος. — ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατῴσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεὺς, τῷ προστετάκτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἐτοῖμον, εἰ παλῆσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι εὐοῖσι· ὡς δ' αὐτὸς ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλῆος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἐτοῖμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εὐοῖσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἦν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. — οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδα καὶ τοῦ στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι. 18. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλωούσας ἐπιλέξιμένους Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοις γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὕστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ταῦτε ἔλεγε· Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιεέτε δίκαια ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔξεσθε

καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιεῖν·  
 εἰ δὲ μηδὲτερον τούτων οἷον τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης  
 μέζονος κατέβηκε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 ἔργῳ, <sup>καὶ</sup> ἐπεὶ <sup>ἀντι</sup> συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελokaκέεστε, <sup>καὶ</sup> μεμνημένοι ὅτι  
 ἀπ' ἡμέων <sup>ἀντι</sup> γεγονατε, καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ <sup>καὶ</sup> ἐχθρὴ πρὸς τὸν <sup>Πηλίου</sup>  
 βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἔγραψε, δοκέει <sup>ἐμοὶ</sup>, ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω νοέων, ἵνα ἡ λαβόντα  
 τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἰωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβλεῖν καὶ γενέ-  
 σθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπεῖτε <sup>ἀντι</sup> ἀνενέχθῃ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς  
 Ξέρξεα, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἰωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν  
 αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ. . . .

19. Ἐκ μου δὲ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον  
 [οἱ βάρβαροι]. τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρας <sup>ποδὲν</sup> στενὸς  
 ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὥς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστα κῆ εὐρος,  
 κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ τῆς Φωκίδος χώρας,  
 ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρα αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρό-  
 πολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην <sup>καὶ</sup> τὴν  
 Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσιναιπὶ ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμῆδι-  
 ζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἑδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι. 20. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς  
 Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας  
 οὐκ αἰρέουσι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ  
 Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν (ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδὴ δέξασθαι ὄμιλον  
 τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἢ κορυφῇ, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ'  
 ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὖνομα αὐτῇ, ἐς τὴν δὲ ἀνηνέικαντο καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν)· οἱ δὲ πλευνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας·  
 Δοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκειομένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν  
 πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον  
 τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ  
 ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.  
 21. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπὶ

κοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλείστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλεις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες. ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, βουλόμενοι δῆλον ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρὸνέοιεν. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὠρμέατο ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησσὸν ἀπέρχοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐστῆλαμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Πανοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως συλῆσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλεῖ Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγον ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα. 23. Οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπύκατο· ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες, ἔμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορυξέωσι, εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώραν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἐώντου προκατήσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μὲν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιὴν διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησσοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς Ἀμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπέβηλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἐξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω. 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγχοῦ

τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρουν τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐν  
 τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκίρατος, ὅρᾳ πρὸ τοῦ  
<sup>ὑψηλῆς</sup> τοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγύρου ἐξενηνευ-  
 μένα ἱρὰ, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦιε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας·  
 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν  
 τῆς Προνηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα  
 τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο  
 κάρτα ἐστὶ, ὅπλα ὑρήια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα  
 τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ  
<sup>φανερά</sup> πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμύσαι μάλιστα. 25. ἐπεὶ  
 γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προ-  
 νηΐης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ  
 αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι  
 δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ <sup>ῥαυτῇ</sup> πᾶτά γ' εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέ-  
 λαβον <sup>ῥαυτῇ</sup> συγχροῦς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προνηΐης βοή-  
 τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πίν-  
 των, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβύροις ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ  
 οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντάς σφεας, ἐπικαταβύντες ἀπέκτειναν  
 πληθὸς τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον.  
 ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβύρων, ὡς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ὄρεον θεία· δύο  
 γὰρ ὀπλίτας, μέζοντας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν [ἔχοντας],  
 ἔπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας. 26. τούτους δὲ  
 τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας εἶναι, Φύλα-  
 κὸν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεά ἐστι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν,  
 Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατ' ὑπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς  
 Προνηΐης, Αὐτονόου δὲ <sup>πῆλας</sup> τῆς Κασταλῆς ὑπὸ τῇ  
 Ῥαμπεΐῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ  
 λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προ-  
 νηΐης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρ-

βάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μὲν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

27. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων, ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκεν προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμίνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοῖ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλευσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρίγμασι βουλὴν ἐμελλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὥς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὐρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ὑποκάτημένους τὸν βύρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὖρον οὐδὲν ἔον· οἱ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησάν σφειον σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα. 28. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἐσωτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποίησαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σῶζειν τὰ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς Τροιζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς Αἴγινα, οἱ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. ἔσπευσάν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι, τῷ χρηστήριῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετεῖν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὅφιν μέγαν φύλακον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδίατασθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. λέγουσιν περὶ ταῦτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὥς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσά ἐστι. αὕτη δ' ἢ μελιτόεσσα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη, τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνύσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μάλλόν τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπύλης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δὲ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκετο, ἔπλων ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. 29. Ἐπεὶ

δὲ οἱ ὑπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμίνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συν-  
έρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς  
στρατὸς ἐκ Τροιζῆνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων  
λιμένα προεῖρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ  
πολλῷ πλευνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχουν, καὶ  
ὑπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναῦαρχος μὲν νυν ἐπὴν ὡς τὸς ὅσ-  
περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιῶδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδew ἀνὴρ  
Σπαρτιτῆς, οὐ μέντοι γένεός γε τοῦ βασιλεῖτος ἑὸν. νέας  
δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλωούσας παρείχοντο  
Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ  
τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριηκό-  
σιαι.

**30.** Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνήλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ, ἐβουλευόντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεισθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκεοὶ ἐπιτηδεώτατον εἶναι ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσὶ· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπείτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν περί προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλείσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχεῖν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἦν νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφί τιμωρίῃ οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται. **31.** ταῦτα τῶν ἀπο

Πελοποννησίου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγόμενων, ἐηλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἦκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπείων τὴν πόλιν (αὐτῶν ἐκλελειπότες ἐς Πελοπόννησον) καὶ τὴν Πλαταιῶν ὥσαύτως, ἠκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδήτου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θεσπειᾶν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν, πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον.

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32. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα, ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἐτέροισι μῆσι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιῶδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἰρέουσι ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινὰς ὀλίγους εὐρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἑόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἱ φραξόμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσι τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἡμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας· ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμίνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον, τὸ ἢ Πυθίῃ σφί ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τείχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον, καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

33. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν κατα-  
 τίσιν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέρουσι Ἀρήϊον  
 πύργον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅπως στυγερῶς περὶ  
 τοὺς οἰστούς περιθέντες ἄψευαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα.  
 ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὁμῶς ἡμύνοντο, καί-  
 περ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι, καὶ τοῦ φράγματος  
 προδεδωκότος. οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν προσ-  
 φερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα  
 τε ἀντέμνηχανέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων  
 πρὸς τὰς πύλας ολοित्रόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξεα ἐπὶ  
 χρόνον <sup>πολλόν</sup> συγχρὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενόν σφεας  
 ελεῖν. 34. χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸρων ἐφάνη δὴ τις ἔσδοδος  
 τοῖσι βαρβairoisi· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι.  
 ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλίων  
 καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' <sup>ἀν</sup> ἄλλυψε 1340.  
 μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβη-  
 σάν τινες κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κέκρόπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου,  
 καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἑόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὥς δὲ εἶδον

αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἱ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κύτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες <sup>πρῶτον</sup> μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς <sup>ἐκείνους</sup> ἰκέτας ἐφόνεον· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφί πάντες <sup>κατέστρωτον</sup> κατέστρωτον, τὸ ἱρὸν <sup>σύλησαντες</sup> σύλησαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. 35. Σχῶν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας, <sup>24</sup> Ἐέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνω ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεούσῃν σφί <sup>ἐν</sup> ἐνπρηξίῃν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς <sup>πέντη</sup> πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ, συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἐπομίνουσ· ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, — εἴτε δὴ ὦν <sup>οὐκ</sup> οὐκ ἦν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθυμίδι οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρὸν. οἱ δὲ φυγίδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. 36. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθίδος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηὶς, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θύλασσα ἔνι, τὸ λόγος παρ' Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνί τε καὶ Ἀθηναίῃν ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβύρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος, Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὥς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, ὥρεον βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

37. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὥς σφί ἐξηγγέλθῃ ὥς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηνέων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο, ὥστε ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ <sup>κυρωθῆναι</sup> κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἰστία αἰείροντο ὥς ἀποθευσόμενοι. τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπομένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθῃ πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμα-

χέειν. νύξ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ <sup>συνεδρίου</sup> συνέδριου  
 ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας. 38. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέας  
 ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἶρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος,  
 ὃς τι σφί εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς  
 εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνίγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμον καὶ πρὸ  
 τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε· Οὐ τοι ἄρα, ἦν ὑπα-  
 εἶρῳσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμίνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἐστὶ πατρί-  
 δος ναυμαχίσεις. κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέφονται, καὶ  
 οὔτε σφίας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται, οὔτε τις ἀν-  
 θρώπων ἄλλος, ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιὴν,  
 ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔστι μὴ  
 χανῇ, ἴθι καὶ πείρῳ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἦν κὼς δύνη  
 ἀναγνώσαι Εὐρυβιῶδα μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ  
 μένειν. 39. κάρτα δὴ τῷ Θεμιστοκλείῃ ἤρесе ἡ ὑποθήκη,  
 καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψόμενος ἦγε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν  
 Εὐρυβιάδew. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι  
 πρῆγμα συμμίξαι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἰς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβύντα  
 λέγειν, εἴ τι ἐθέλοι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς παριζόμενός  
 οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνύ τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου,  
 ἐωυτοῦ ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρόστιθεις, ἐς ὃ ἀνέ-  
 γνωσε χρητίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον. 40. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθη-  
 σαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδew προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν  
 εἵνεκεν συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστο-  
 κλῆς ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κύρτα δέόμενος. λέγοντος δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε·  
 ὦ Θεμιστοκλέες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι  
 ραπίζονται. ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη· Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκατα-  
 λειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανεύνται. 41. Τότε μὲν ἡπίως πρὸς  
 τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιῶδα ἔλεγε  
 ἐκείνων μὲν οὐκέτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς

ἐπεὶ ἂν ὑπαείρωσι ὑπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρῶντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερε οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων ταῦδε· Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀναξεύξης πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν τας νέας. ἀντίθεος γὰρ ἐκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγῃ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφoron ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλίσσονας, τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρά καὶ Αἴγινα, ἣν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἔψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός· καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. 42. ἦν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσης, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὐρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στενωφὶ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγησι πρὸς πολλὰς, ἦν τὰ οἰκῶτα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν, — τὸ γὰρ ἐν στενωφὶ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστὶ, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων, — αὗτις δὲ Σαλαμῖς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπεκκείται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὴν καὶ τότε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα· ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῳ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 43. ἦν δὲ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιζῶ γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσὶ, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν παρῶνται οἱ βάρβαροι, οὔτε πρόβησονται ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίαςί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἴγινα καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιόν ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκῶτα μὲν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μηδὲ οἰκῶτα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσ-

χωρεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπότητας γνώμας. 44. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος, αὐτὶς ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἔστι πατρίς, καὶ Εὐρυβιάδα οὐκ ἔων ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπὸλι χανδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι· ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε, ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατεῖχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλὰ τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὥς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἥπερ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσiai νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμένοι· οὐδαμῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρουσέσθαι. 45. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδα, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα· Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὥς ἔχομεν, ἀναλαβοῦντες τοὺς οἰκέτας, κομεινμεθα ἐς Σῆριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τέ ἐστι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ, συμμαχῶν τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων. 46. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης. δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο μὴ σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἣν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀνάγη τὰς νέας. ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἰρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχεῖν. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἔπεισι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπεῖτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ. ἔδοξε δὲ σφι εὐξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι

καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὥς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίουν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντί τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

47. Ἐφῆ δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, φυγὰς τε καὶ παρὰ Μῆδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπέιτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐούσα ἐρῆμος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἔων ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κη τρισμυρίων· ἀποθωμάζειν τέ σφεας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεων κοτε εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καὶ οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαημονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσίνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἶρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἶη τοῦτο· 48. αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπαι· Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅπως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλείῳ στρατιῇ. ταῦδε γὰρ ἀρίδῃλα ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος ἰὼν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλείῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τρύπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυνεῖται, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν, τῆς ἀκούεις, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι. 49. πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον· Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἶπῃς. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ σε

οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι, οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μέλησει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραγνέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος, καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπολέεσθαι μέλλοι. Ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδης ἔλεγε, Δημαρτήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων κατὰπτομενος.

50. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχίνος θησάμενοι τὸ τρώμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἰστιάϊαν, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλων δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρησι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλῶειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα, καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἥσυχίν. τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξεχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι, νῦξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο, οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἄρρωδίη, οὐκ ἡκίστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ἄρρωδεον δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον. 51. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεούσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο, ὅκως κατ' ἡπειρον μὴ ἐσβύλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὥς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καὶ σφι ἐπὶ στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδew, Λεωνίδew δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδὸν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευμένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ πεῖχος·

ἄτε δὲ εὐσεύων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἦνυτο τὸ ἔργον, καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις ἐσεφορέοντο, καὶ ἐλύνουν οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

52. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἄτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες, καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλιμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμμα ποιεῖμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδew ἀβουλίην, τέλος δὲ ἐξερρύγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεῶν εἶη ἀποπλῶειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν, μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλάτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ὑμύνεσθαι.

53. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοῖφ, ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεῶν, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιυννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλῆς Θεσπία τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὀλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοῖφ ἀπικόμενος, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦδε· Ἐπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λύβρη τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλευόμενοι κατεβρώδηκότες· καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργον



ἀπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἣν μὴ <sup>ἀντι</sup>περιδῆτε <sup>ἐν</sup>διαδράντας αὐ-  
 τούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι, οὔτ' ἔτι ἀντι-  
 στήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμα-  
 χέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ. 54. ὁ  
 μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδῶν ἀπαλλυσσέτο· τοῖσι δὲ  
 ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἀγγελλθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησιδα  
 τὴν Ψυτταίειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμίνος τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς  
 ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβίβασαν, τοῦτο δὲ,  
 ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνήγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης  
 κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα, ἀνήγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ  
 τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε  
 μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. τῶνδε  
 δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνήγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι μηδὲ  
 φυγεῖν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν  
 τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίφ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησιδα  
 τὴν Ψυτταίειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων  
 τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὥς, ἐπεὰν γένηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλι-  
 στα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ  
 δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσσεσθαι ἐκέετο ἡ  
 νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιῶσι, τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρῳσι.  
 ἐποίεον δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὥς μὴ πυρθαγίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι.  
 Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρ-  
 τέοντο.

55. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμός  
 λόγων πολλός. ᾗδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο  
 τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὤρεον  
 αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι. συνεστη-  
 κότες δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ  
 Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν, ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ δήμου, τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυρθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρό-  
 πον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιοτάτον.

οὗτος ὦνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἑόντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον, ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάλθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιούμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, ἐθέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι. προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἴσθμόν. 56. ὥς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε· Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεὼν ἐστί, ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε, περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλεῶν ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάζεται. λέγω δέ τοι, ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλῶου τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν Πελοποννησίοις. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος, ὅτι νῦν, οὐδ' ἦν ἐθέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιῶδης, οἳοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφὶ ταῦτα σήμνηον. 57. Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· Κίρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἡγγεilas. τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἦκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο ἐγὼ ταῖς ποιούμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων. ἔδεε γὰρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἐκόντες ἦθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεὶ περ ἦκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτὸς σφὶ ἡγγεilon. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν, καὶ οὐ πείσω ὥς οὐ ποιούντων τῶν βαρβύρων ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ σφὶ σήμνηον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὥς ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ σήμνηης, ἦν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὥς σὺ λέγεις. 58. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἦκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαι τε συνεβούλευε ὥς ὑλεξησομένους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα

ἔπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐγένετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίῃ· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐξαγγελθέντα. 59. ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων, ἦκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἤρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν. διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βύρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησίῳ ἐς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Δημνίῃ, ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας. δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

60. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἑλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευαίζοντο ὡς ναυμαχῆσοντες. ἡὼς τε δὴ διέφαινε, καὶ οἱ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατείων ποιησόμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἔσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα. ὅσα δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται, παραινέσας δὴ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἰρέεσθαι, καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἦκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἥ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε. ἐνθαῦτα ἀνήγον τὰς νέας ἀπίσας οἱ Ἕλληνες. 61. ἀναγομίνοισι δὲ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βύρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνῃ ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξίναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει. συμπλακέσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς, καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοθηόντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίας γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· Αἰγινῇται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδημήσασαν ἐς Αἶγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦδε, ὡς φύσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανείσαν δὲ διακελεύεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ

ἅπαν ἀκούσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε· Ὡ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε ; 62. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετύχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσίνος τε καὶ ἐσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐβελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλευνες οὐ. ἔχω μὲν νυνὶ σὺν χυῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξει τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορος τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τούδε δὲ εἵνεκεν μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρα οἱ ἐδωρήθη πολλή. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλεῶνται Περσιστί. 63. Περὶ μὲν νυνὶ τούτους οὕτω εἶχε, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκερατίζετο, αἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινήτων. ἄτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὐ τεταγμένων ἔτι, οὔτε σὺν νόφ ποιέοντων οὐδὲν, ἐμέλλε τοιοῦτό σφιν συνοίσεσθαι οἷον πέρ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἥσαν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ. πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξεα, ἐδόκεε τε ἕκαστος ἐωυτὸν θηήσεσθαι βασιλέα. 64. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὥς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγωνίζοντο, κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλεῖ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηὺς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἡ οὐκ ἔχουσα δια-

φυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλλαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε εὐοῦσα, ἔδοξε οἱ τὸδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησύνῃ· διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νητὶ φιλήν ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλῶντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέως Δαμασιθύμου. 65. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι νεικὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσπροντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν, οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίας αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνέκρυσσε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τυχὴν παραπessούσα νηὺς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησάμενη διπλόα ἐωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο· ὃ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριτάρρχος, ὡς εἶδε μιν ἐμβαλλουσιν νητὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο. 66. τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπο τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμησαί παρὰ Ἑέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δὴ τινα εἶπαι τῶν παρεόντων· Δέσποτα, ὅρας Ἀρτεμισίην, ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολεμίων κατέδυσε; καὶ τὸν ἐπείρεσθαι εἰ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φαναί, σαφὲως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένου· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἡπιστάεσθαι εἶναι πολεμίνην. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ἑέρξην δὲ εἶπαι λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα· Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες. ταῦτα μὲν Ἑέρξην φασὶ εἶπαι.

67. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ἑέρξεω ἑὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ

ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ οὐνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ Ἑλλήνων. ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμφ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμίνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ διεφθύρησαν, νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλείσται διεφθείροντο. οἱ γὰρ ὅπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῆσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι, ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλείῃ, τῆσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον. 68. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ· τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοῖατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων συνήνευκε ὧν οὕτω ὥστε Ἴωνων τε τοὺς στρατηγούς μὴ ἀπολίσθαι, Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιούδε μισθόν· ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηκικῇ νηὺς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο. καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναιὴ νηὺς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηκικῶν τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὴ ἐόντες ἀκόντισται οἱ Σαμοθρηκῖκες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης, νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπύραξαν, καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. 69. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφεας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοινίκας, οἳ αὖτε ὑπερκλυσιζόμενοι τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενοι, καὶ σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίῳ Σαλαμῖνος, τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἔων

Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρέων τούτου τοῦ Φοινικῆτος πάθεος.

70. Οἱ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλωρόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο λόγου ἄξι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκέραιζον τὰς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλωούσας· ὅκως δὲ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας. 71. Ἐνθαῦτα συνέκυρτον νέες ἢ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα, καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κρίου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινῆτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίη, ἣ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναιήν, ἐπ' ἣς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενοῦ, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκεν εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι. τὸν δὲ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἤλω νηὺς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἶγιναν. ὥς δὲ εἶσιν τὴν νεὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς ἀτρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὴν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπέκέρτομήσε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μὲν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βύρβαροι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πέζον στρατόν. 72. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ταύτῃ ἦκθουσ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρίστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινῆτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεὺς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπιδίωξε. εἰ μὲν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλώοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἰλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἐκέετο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἂν μιν ζῶν ἔλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιοῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας

στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δὴ, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

73. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα, τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν, ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γίνεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφί κελητα θεῇ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τί τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλτος λέγειν τάδε. Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαι καταπρδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οἱ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἥρῳτο ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. 74. Ταῦτα λεγόντων, ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὐτὶς τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἰοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὁμηροῖ ἀποθυήσκειν, ἣν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα, αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι, μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφί καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. 75. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμίνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίηε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρας, γένος ἑόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.



76. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατέφυγον <sup>ἐκ τῆς μάχης</sup> εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἔοντα, ἐτοίμοι ἦσαν εἰς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιουσίῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλείᾳ. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ξέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν <sup>ἐκ τῆς</sup> ἡδονᾶ τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλῆσαι τὸν <sup>ὅλον</sup> χρησμόν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι <sup>πρῶτον</sup> πρότερον τούτων ἐν <sup>ἐν τῇ</sup> χρησμῷ Δυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολογῷ, τὸ ἐλέληθε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι <sup>ἐν τῇ</sup> φρυξοῦσι·

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελασάντος βασιλέως ἔσεσθαι.

77. Ξέρξης δὲ, ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γεγονὸς πάθος, δέισας μὴ τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποβῇται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἣ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλῶειν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσῃ, <sup>διὰ</sup> δαψμόν ἐβούλετο· ἐθέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, εἰς τὴν Σαλαμίνα <sup>ἀπὸ</sup> χῶμα ἐπείρατο διαχοῦν, γαυλοῦς τε Φοινικητοῦς <sup>συνέδεε</sup>, ἵνα ἀντὶ τε σχεδὸς ἑωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέτο τε εἰς πόλεμον, ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος. ὁρέοντες δὲ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, εὐ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκευάσται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἔοντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης. 78. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίηε, καὶ ἔπεμπε εἰς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρούσαν σφί συμφορὴν. <sup>ὅτι</sup> τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔστι οὐδὲν ὅ τι θάσσον <sup>πα</sup> ραγίνεται θνητὸν ἔόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐξεύρηται

τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ, ὡς ὄσων ἂν ἡμερέων ἢ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδὸς, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἐκίᾳστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος τεταγμένοι, τοὺς οὔτε νιφετὸς, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νύξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατα-  
 νύσαι τὸν προκείμενον ἑωυτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδόει τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατὰπερ Ἑλλήσι ἡ λαμπαδη-  
 φορίῃ, τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δρόμῳ τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήϊον. 79. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σούσα ἀγγελίῃ ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρ-  
 ξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δὴ τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας, ὡς τὰς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίῃ πᾶσας ἐστόρεσαν, καὶ ἐθυμίον' <sup>οὐκ</sup>θυ-  
 μίματα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσι τε καὶ εὐπαθειῃσι· ἡ δὲ δευτέρῃ σφι ἀγγελίῃ ἐπεξελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω, ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρήξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέοντο ἀπλῆτ' ἄνθρωποι, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίεον, ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

80. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἐπέτρεψε ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἐφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιεῖν τοῖσι λό-  
 γοις τὰ ἔργα πειρεόμενον ὁμοίᾳ. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο· τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς, κελεύσαντος βασιλέως, τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, ὡς <sup>ἡμεῖς</sup>ταχέος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλείᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγαρήϊοι ἦσαν Ζωστήρος πλώοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι λεπτὰι τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἐφευ-  
 γον ἐπὶ πολλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλληχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο. 81. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγέ-

νετο, ὀρέοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώραν μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν, ἡλπίζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας, παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξίσομενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μὲν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξῳ στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο, διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας, πλώειν ἰθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσουσας τὰς γεφύρας. §2. Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτην γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς, εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφεῖς κακὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιντο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθεῖη ἀπολαμφθεῖς ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρώτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν· ὡς ἄγοντι μὲν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρεῖν οἶόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὸ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λῆψ' <sup>ἀλλ'</sup> τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθαρέεται· ἐπιχειροῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργον ἐχομένῳ πάντα γὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἶά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλεις τε καὶ κατ' <sup>ἐν</sup> ἔθνεα, ἥτοι ἀλίσκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεοντων. τροφήν τε ἔξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτεον αἰεὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπὸν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσῃ, ἐατέον ὧν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθῃ φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὰ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἶχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

§3. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τοὺς γε πολλοὺς πλώειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότες περιημέκτεον, ὡρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλώειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, εἰ ὧλλοι μὴ βουλοῖατο) ἔλεγέ

σφι τάδε· Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμεν, καὶ πολλῶ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι· ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δὲ (εὕρημα γὰρ εὐρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσίμενοι) μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας.

§4. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοὶ τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἱ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἓνα τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι, ἔοντα ἀνόςιον τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποίεετο, ἐμπιπρύς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγύλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θύλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατήκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμεινάντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν· καὶ τις οἰκίῃν τε ἀνὴρ ἀπλάσσω καὶ σπύρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελῶς ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἑαρί καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσεσθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσέα, ἵνα, ἢ ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος, ἔχῃ ἀποστρόφῃν· τὰ περ ὧν καὶ ἐγένετο. §5. Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διεβαλλε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφός, ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθῶς σοφός τε καὶ εὖβουλος, πάντως ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὥς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾶν, ἐς πᾶσαν βῆσσαν ἀπικνεομένοισι, τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλεῖ φρίσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὐτῆς ἐγένετο. οἱ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οἱ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε τύδε· Ἐπεμφέ με Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄρι-

στος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλομένους ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύνειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλων ὀπίσω.

86. Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Ξέρξεα, ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην, ἐξήλυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδόνιῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ <sup>καὶ ἄλλους</sup> ἀνὴρ <sup>ἐκ τῶν</sup> εἶναι τοῦ <sup>ἐκείνου</sup> ἐπεί πολεμείν· <sup>καὶ ἄλλους</sup> χεῖμερῖσαι δὲ ἀμεινον εἶναι ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτεν ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειράσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Τδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέως), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλὴν, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἴλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους· ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεύσι. 87. Ξέρξης δὲ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσαεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὥς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοῖατο καὶ κατ' οὐστῖνας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων <sup>καρπὸν</sup> ἀρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὔροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν <sup>πλοῖον</sup> ποιήσονται <sup>πλοῖον</sup> τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα κατάδρέφντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ <sup>ἀμεινον</sup> κοίμῃς τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερὴν κατ' ὁδὸν διεφθείρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ

<sup>οὐκ</sup>νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλιπε, ἐπιτάσσωσιν τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα  
 ἐκάστοτε γίνωτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν  
 Θεσσαλίῃ τέ τινας καὶ ἐν Σίρῳ τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακε-  
 δονίῃ. ἐνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἄρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διὸς, ὅτε  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλανε, ἀπὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε· ἀλλὰ δόν-  
 τες ρὶ Παίονες τοῖσι Θρηίκῃ, ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξῃ, ἔφασαν  
 ἡμεόμενας ἀρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ  
 τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων. 88. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι,  
 ὥς ἐκ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον,  
 ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς  
 Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδιάς οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι  
 σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, οὐδένα τε κόσμον  
 ἐμπιπλάμενοι, καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες, ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ τοῦ περιέοντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ  
 ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις. 89. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁδε λόγος  
 λεγόμενος, ὥς, ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἀπί-  
 κετο ἐπ' Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνῃ, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπο-  
 ρίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ἰδάρνῃ ἐπιτράπει  
 ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσι-  
 σης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλώοντα δέ μιν  
 ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν, καὶ κύματιν. καὶ  
 δὴ, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι, ἡμέμουσῃς τῆς νεὸς ὥστε  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συγχυνὼν Περσέων τῶν  
 σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν  
 βασιλεῦ ἐρεσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην, εἴ τις ἐστὶ  
 σφι σωτηρίῃ. καὶ τὸν εἶπαι· Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία,  
 ἣν μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴ τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβά-  
 τέων. 90. καὶ Ξέρξῃ λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἶπαι·  
 Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξίτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδὸ-  
 μενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίῃ. Τὸν μὲν

ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφίσθεισαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὥς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξεα, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχὴν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσὴν στεφάνην τὸν κυβερνήτηα, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

91. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νοστοῦ, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς, οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος. εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξεα, ἐν μυρίησι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξρον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα, εὐντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων εὐντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῶ χρεόμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

92. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, τραπομένοι ἐς Κύρυστον καὶ δηῶσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμίνα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἴσθμόν ἀναθεῖναι, ἣ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμίνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληϊήν καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριῆς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκροθίνιον νεὸς, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυνάδεκα πηχέων. 93. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληϊῆς ἔπλων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἀριστήϊα δώσουντες τῷ ἀξιώτατῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διενέμοντο τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἰνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἐωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος

γενέσθαι, δεύτερα δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνούντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοις ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν. 94. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλώνοντων ἐκάστων ἐς τὴν ξυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπῆκετο ἐθέλων τιμηθῆναι. καὶ μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριατήϊα μὲν νυν ἔδοσαν Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλεῖ, καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης. ἐδωρήσαντο δὲ μιν ὅχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύοντι. αἰγίσαντες δὲ πολλὰ, προέπεμψαν ἀπύοντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λόγμυδες, οὗτοι οὔπερ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Τεγεθτικῶν· μούνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν. 95. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος, τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐὼν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνεέκῃ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχει τὰ ἡγήματα παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἐωυτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε· Οὕτω ἔχει τοι· οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὐτ' ἂν σὺ, ὠνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.

96. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικός ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγεγόμενος, ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἀβυδον, ἐχειμέρισε ἐν Κύμῃ.





## NOTES.

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### XENOPHON: ANABASIS.

THE Expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes to wrest from his possession the throne of Persia—the ANABASIS—was made in the year 401 B. C. The march from Sardis began in the spring, and about six months later a battle was fought at the village of Cunaxa, some forty or fifty miles from Babylon. In this battle Cyrus was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother; and the Greeks, though victorious over that part of the opposing force which they had attacked, suffered virtual defeat in losing their leader. They had marched more than 1800 miles from Ephesus to Cunaxa. (See ii. 2. 6.) But this route, the only one with which they were acquainted, was closed to them; for the first part of it lay through the desert of Arabia, in which, had they undertaken to return as they came, they would have perished of hunger. They set out, therefore, northward under the guidance of Ariaeus, who had been the commander of the barbarian forces of Cyrus; but subsequently they entered into negotiations with the King which led to a treaty. By the terms of this treaty Tissaphernes, one of the King's four generals in the battle, was to lead them back in safety to Ionia. Beyond the Tigris, however, Tissaphernes treacherously entrapped five of the generals, four of whom were soon after put to death. Great dejection fell in consequence upon the army; but recovering their courage, especially under the exhortations of Xenophon, they elected new generals, and began their retreat along the upper waters of the Tigris and through the highlands of Armenia to the Greek colonies on the Black Sea. This "Retreat of the Ten Thousand" from the river Zapatas to Trapezus was one of incredible hardship,—a constant fight for about 700 miles through an enemy's country in the winter-time. The account of it by Xenophon contains by far the most vivid picture that has ever been given of the temper, discipline, and endurance of those citizen-soldiers who constituted the armies of Greece; and along with that an authentic and most interesting account of the tribes of

Asiatic mountaineers, who lived just outside the circle of the then civilized world. The Greeks reached Trapezus, the modern Trebizond, at the end of the winter of 400 B. C., and after a month's halt proceeded westward, partly by land and partly by sea, to Chrysopolis on the Thracian Bosphorus opposite Byzantium, which they reached in the summer. After passing over into Thrace and subsequently returning to Asia, in the spring of 399 B. C. they joined the army of Thibron, and, as the "Ten Thousand," disappeared from history. Consult more at length, on the events here described, Smith's *History of Greece*, Chap. XXXVI., or the three excellent chapters of Grote, LXIX. - LXXI. The last constitute a good running commentary on the *Anabasis*.

Cyrus the Younger, the unfortunate leader of this expedition, was the second of the four sons of Darius II., who was the grandson of Xerxes I. In 407 B. C. he was made by his father satrap of Lydia, Phrygia the Greater, and Cappadocia, and military commander (κάρανος) of the forces that mustered at Castölus (*Anab.* i. 1. 2). He could not have been at this time more than seventeen years of age at most, for he was born after his father's accession to the throne. The commission given him by Darius is found in *Hell.* i. 4. 3: καὶ Κύρος (sc. ἀπήγγειλεν), ἀρξῶν πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλεῖον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε, Καταπέμψω Κύρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροισμένων. His high position made it possible for him to aid the Lacedaemonians in the war they were then waging with Athens. And he did this, partly at the direction of his father, who had sent with him large sums of money for this purpose, and partly from his own desire. For there is evidence that even at this time he aspired to the throne, and that foreseeing as possible what eventually took place, the succession of his brother, he was preparing to wrest the government from him by violence if need be. He became the warm friend of Lysander; and, on being summoned to his father's bedside at Babylon in 405 B. C., he turned over to the Spartan admiral the money which he had in hand, and placed at his disposal his entire personal revenue from the province of which he was satrap. The timely aid thus rendered to the Lacedaemonians did much to hasten the end of the Peloponnesian War. As to the fact that funds were furnished by Cyrus, see Thucydides ii. 65: Κύρῳ τε (sc. ἀντείχον) ὑστερον βασιλέως παιδί προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρέιχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν. An account of him from this time until his death is given in the first book of the *Anabasis*. Consult further Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. CYRUS THE YOUNGER.

Xenophon, the historian of the expedition, was an Athenian gentleman of culture, the pupil and friend of Socrates the philosopher. Neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known with certainty. It is generally believed, however, that he lived to be more than ninety years of age. From a story that was current in antiquity that he fought at Delium in 424 B. C., it has been concluded that at the time of the expedition of Cyrus he must have been past forty; but judging from the internal evidence afforded by the *Anabasis* itself, he could not have been at this time more than thirty. He himself relates (*Anab.* iii. 1) the circumstances under which he came to join the army of Cyrus. His friend Proxenus was already with the Persian prince, and invited Xenophon to come and join him at Sardis, promising to introduce him to Cyrus. Xenophon did this after consulting the oracle at Delphi, and at the urgent solicitations of Cyrus he joined the expedition. He does not appear, however, with any prominence until after the murder of the generals, when his rare qualities became known and he became the inspiration of the army. During their perilous retreat northward to the sea, he always showed that high-born courage and endurance that have since won the admiration of posterity as they then gained him the complete confidence of his fellow-soldiers. When in 399 B. C. the "Ten Thousand" became incorporated with the forces of Thibron, Xenophon appears to have returned to Athens, but in 396 B. C. he was again in Asia, and in 394 B. C. fought at the battle of Coronæa with the Spartans against the allies. Though an Athenian, he was anti-democratical, and much more in sympathy with the institutions of Sparta than with those of his native city. He was now banished, and took up his residence in Scillus in Elis, where in entertaining his friends, hunting, and writing, he is reported to have lived a happy life. He was subsequently expelled from Scillus by the Elæans and went to Corinth, where he died. Though the decree of banishment against him was eventually repealed, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Athens. Xenophon was a prolific writer. His most celebrated works besides the *Anabasis* are the *Memorabilia* (Memorials of Socrates) in 4 books, the *Hellenica* (a continuation of the history of Thucydides) in 7 books, and the *Cyropædia* (an historical novel) in 8 books. His style is perspicuous and unaffected. Consult also Smith's *Dict. of Biography and Mythology*, s. v. XENOPHON; and on the question of his age at the time of the *Anabasis*, an interesting article by Professor Morris in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* for 1874.

## BOOK FIRST.

THE LEVYING OF AN ARMY. — THE MARCH TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF  
BABYLON. — THE BATTLE AT CUNAXA AND DEATH OF CYRUS.

## CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Darius, falling dangerously sick, summons to him his two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus (1, 2). On the King's death the former succeeds to the throne, and being persuaded by the satrap Tissaphernes that his brother is plotting against him, he has him arrested. Cyrus, saved from death only by his mother's entreaty, returns disgraced to his province and concert measures against the king (3, 4). He conciliates all who come to him, sees to his own native troops (5), and secretly collects Greek mercenaries. A part of this army he enlists in western Asia Minor, alleging as a reason that the Greek cities which have put themselves under his protection are in danger from the machinations of Tissaphernes, and lays siege to Miletus (6-8). Other Greek mercenaries are enlisted in the Thracian Chersonæsus (9), in Thessaly (10), and in Greece (11).

1. *Δαρείου*, Darius II. or Nothos (*νόθος*, *bastard*), a natural son of Artaxerxes I., and a man of feeble character. He died late in 405 B. C., after a reign of nineteen years. For the case, a predicate gen. of possession, see G.\* 169, 1. — *Παρυσάτιδος*, *Parysatis*, the half-sister, as well as wife, of Darius, a woman of an intriguing and cruel disposition, and of great influence with her husband. — *γένεονταί*, *were born*. For this use of the pres., see G. 200, N. 1. — *δύο*: there were other sons (thirteen children in all), but these are the two now prominently in the mind of the writer. — *πρεσβύτερος* . . . *Κύρος*, *Artaxerxes (being) the older, Cyrus the younger*. These were Artaxerxes II., surnamed *Mnemon* (*μνήμων*), on account of his great memory, and *Cyrus the Younger*, so named to distinguish him from *Cyrus the Great*, founder of the Persian empire. — *ἡσθένει*, *was sick*, the impf. to denote the continuance of the state (G. 200). The aor. *ἡσθένησε* would mean *fell sick* (G. 200, N. 5 b). *ἀσθενέω* is a denominative verb (G. 128, 2 b; 130, 2) from *ἀσθενής*, *weak*, and this from *α-* priv. (G. 131, 4 a) and *σθένος*, *strength*. — *ἐν πάσται*: peculiar in augment (G. 105, 1, N. 2). Give its derivation (G. 130, 4) and Latin equivalent. — *τοῦ*, *his* (G. 141, N. 2). — *τὸ πάλαι*: dual, but above, the pl. (G. 33, 1). For the case, see G. 134, 2. — *παρ-εἶναι*, *to be by (him)*, i. e. at Babylon, where he died.

2. *μὲν* . . . *καὶ*: used to correlate the two sentences. See the lexicon, and cf. the case in § 1. *μὲν* is not to be translated. — *οὖν*, *now*, is here continuative, not inferential. Cf. *igitur* in Lat. — *παρὸν ἐτύχαιε*, *was, as it happened, (already) there* (G. 279, 4). — *μετα-πέμψεται*, *sends for, sends after* (G. 191, VI. 3, end), *summons*. — *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, *from his province*.

\* The references under G. are to the sections of Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, revised and enlarged edition.

For the prep. *ἀπό*, see G. 191, I. 2. — *σατράπην*: pred. acc. (G. 166). The satrap was a *viceroys*, but with great discretionary powers. According to Herod. (iii. 89), Darius I. divided the Persian empire into twenty satrapies. — *ἐποίησε*, *had made*. The Greek was content simply to refer the action to the past, without specifying the time as exactly as we do by the plup. — *καὶ . . . δὲ . . . ἀπέβαλε*, and (*δὲ*) *he had also (καὶ) appointed him*, etc., a transition from a relative to an independent clause; not uncommon in Greek. *καὶ* adds the new particular of the investment of Cyrus with military authority (the office of satrap was at first chiefly a civil one); *δὲ* is the conjunctive word, and the word between the two is emphatic. — *πάντων*: accent (G. 25, 3, N. 1). — *οσοὶ*, *who*, lit. (*so many*) *as*, the rel. of quantity or number (G. 87, 1). — *εἰς . . . ἀθροίζονται*, *muster in the plain of Castolus*, lit. *gather themselves into*, etc. For the prep. *εἰς*, see G. 191, III. 1. *ἀθροίζονται* is not the historical pres., but pres. to denote a standing fact. It is derived from *ἀθρόος*, *close together* (G. 180, 6). The position of the plain of Castolus, a large and level tract of land in which the troops were annually reviewed, is uncertain, though probably it was in Lydia. — *ἀναβαίνα, ἀνέβη*: this change of tense from the historical pres. to the aor. is common. Note the chiasmic arrangement (*χιασμός*, *crossing*, named from the letter *χ*). *ἀναβαίνα λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην, ἔχων ὅπλιτας ἀνέβη*. — *ὁ Κῆρος*: proper name with the art. (G. 141, N. 1 α). — *λαβὼν*: the part. denotes the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). So *ἔχων* following. — *ὡς φίλον*: Tissaphernes, at this time satrap of Caria, whom Cyrus had superseded on becoming satrap himself, was in fact his enemy, and Cyrus had him accompany him, probably because he feared to leave him behind. He proved, however, a dangerous companion. — *καὶ . . . δὲ*: see above. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅπλιτας τριακοσίων*: a body-guard selected from the Greeks then in his service. Cyrus knew well the superiority of the Greeks over the Persians as soldiers. The *hoplite*, lit. *heavy-armed (foot) soldier* (*ὅπλιον*), was armed with shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, spear, and sword. Note the suffix *της*, signifying in denominatives *one who has to do with* (G. 129, 2 δ). — *ἀρχοντα*: appos. (G. 187, N. 4). — *Παρράσιον*: Parrhasia was a district of Arcadia (in the Peloponnesus) about Mt. Lycæna.

3. *ἐτελέτησε*, *had ended (his life), died*. See note on *ἐποίησε* in § 2. This use of the aor. for the plup. is especially common after particles of time like *ἐπεί*, etc. Cf. the Lat. historical (aoristic) perf. with *postquam*. *τελευτάω* (G. 180, 1) is derived by successive steps from *τέλος*: *τέλος, τελῶ, τελευτή, τελευτάω*. — *καὶ κατέστη . . . Ἀρταξέρξης*, and *Artaxerxes had been established in the kingdom*, lit. *settled into*, and so *εἰς* with the acc. — *διαβάλλα*, *falsely accuses*. The current story, that Cyrus had planned to kill Artaxerxes at the time of his coronation, Xenophon evidently believed to be false. For the prep. *πρός*, see G. 191, VI. 6. — *ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει*: opt. by quot. after the idea of *saying* in *διαβάλλα* (G. 243; 201, Rem.). Give the dir. form. — *αὐτῷ*: after the compound verb (G. 187). — *ὁ δὲ*, *but he* (G. 143, 1, N. 2). — *συλλαμβάνει*: cf. *comprehendere* in Lat. — *ὡς ἀποκτενῶν*, *with the avowed object of putting him to death* (G. 277, 3, and N. 2 α). — *ἔξαιτσα-*

μένη . . . πάλιν: note the diff. between the Greek and English idioms. In Eng., *rescues* (ἐξ) *him by entreaty and sends him off again*; but in Greek, *having rescued* (G. 277, 1), lit. *begged him off, sends him*, etc. The use of the part. is much more frequent in Greek than in Eng., and in translating this fact must be constantly kept in mind. — ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν: for the prep. ἐπὶ, see G. 191, VI. 2.

4. ὁ δέ: cf. note on ὁ δέ in § 3. — ὡς, *as, when*, rel. adv. of time. — ἀπῆλθε: accent (G. 26, N. 1). — ἀτιμασθείς: ἀτιμάω is derived (G. 130, 5) from ἀ-τιμος (*without honor*). Cf. τιμή, τίω. — βουλευέται . . . ἐκείνου, *plans that he may never* (G. 283, 2) *in future be* (G. 217) *in the power of* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2, end) *his brother, but if possible may be king* (G. 223) *in his stead*. For the accent of δύνηται, see G. 122, 2, N. 2. For the prep. ἀντί, see G. 191, I. 1. — μὲν: correl. to δέ, § 5; his mother's support is contrasted with the steps taken by Cyrus himself to bring about the desired end. — ὑπήρχε, *supported*, followed by the dat. (G. 184, 2). ὑπάρχω, *to be a foundation or beginning* (ἀρχή): τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *what one can depend on*. So fond was Parysatis of Cyrus, who in energy and spirit probably resembled her much more than did his brother, that she had endeavored before the death of Darius to induce him to name Cyrus as his successor to the throne, on the ground that he was the first son born after his own succession. It was on this ground, that he was the first son of the *King*, that Xerxes I. obtained the sovereignty. — βασιλεύοντα: the simple attributive part. (G. 276, 1) modifying as an adj. the foll. noun.

5. ἀφικνεῖτο: common usage would require ἀφικνοῖτο (G. 233, N. 1: *Moods and Tenses*, § 62, N. 1). — παρὰ βασιλέως, *from the presence of the King*, is used with τῶν as an adj., the noun ἄνδρες being omitted (G. 141, N. 3). The whole expression is compressed and would read in full: ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο παρὰ βασιλέως τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ, κ. τ. λ. For the prep. παρὰ, see G. 191, VI. 4. — βασιλέως: βασιλεύς, when used to designate the king of Persia, commonly omits the art. — πάντας: pl., because of the distributive force of ὅστις. — οὕτω διατιθεῖς . . . ὥστε, *so dis-posing (them) that*, etc. With δια-τίθημι, cf. Lat. dispono. — αὐτῷ: case (G. 185). So αὐτῷ below at the end. — εἶναι: result (G. 266, 1). — καὶ . . . δέ: this position of δέ, so far from the beginning of the sent., is rare. — τῶν βαρβάρων: to give a substantive a more emphatic position, it is often transferred, generally with change of case, from the dependent to the principal clause. E. g. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἐστίν, and in Eng., "See the learned Bellario how he writes." So here, normally, we should have ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς οἱ παρ' ἐαυτῷ βάρβαροι πολεμῖν, κ. τ. λ. For the case of βαρβάρων as it stands, see G. 171, 2. — πολεμῖν: with ἱκανοί (G. 261, 1). — ὡς εἴησαν, ἔχουσιν: object clause with ὡς and the opt. (G. 217, N. 1). — εὖνοικῶς ἔχουσιν: ἔχω and an adverb are often joined in the sense of the verb to be and an adj., as καλῶς ἔχει = καλὸν ἐστιν, *it is well*, lit. *it has (itself) well*, bene habet. For the formation and derivation of εὖ-νοικῶς, see G. 74, 1; G. 129, 13 a.

6. τὴν δὲ . . . βασιλῆα, *and he collected his* (G. 141, N. 2) *Greek force as secretly as possible* (lit. *concealing himself*, G. 277, 2, *as most he was able*),

that he might catch the King as unprepared as possible. Cyrus knew that an army of Greeks was his only hope for wresting the throne from his brother with all the resources of the empire at his command. Cf. i. 7. 3. — Ἑλληνικήν: a denom. in *κῆς* (G. 129, 13 a).

Page 2. — ὅτι ἀπαρασκευάτοιν: *ὅτι* or *ὥς* is very often prefixed in this way to the superlative to strengthen it. (Cf. *quam maxime*.) In these constructions there is an ellipsis of some form of *δύναμαι*. Sometimes in the case of the superlative with *ὥς* the verb is expressed, as in iii. 4. 48, *ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἐπορεύετο*. Cf. with this the simple *ὥς τάχιστα* in i. 3. 14. Cf. also with *ὅτι πλείους*, as many as possible, in this section, *ὥς ἂν δύνῃται πλείους* in i. 9. 3. — *ὅπως λάβοι*: purpose (G. 216). — *οὕδε*, in the following manner. — *ἔροιετο*: middle (G. 199, 2). — *συλλογήν*: from *συλλέγω*. — *φυλακᾶς*: antecedent attracted (G. 154). Normally *τῶν φυλακῶν ὁπόσων* (G. 153) *εἶχε*, κ. τ. λ. The accent shows that *φυλακᾶς* is from *φυλακή*, and not from *φύλαξ* (G. 25, 1). State the difference in meaning of the two nouns, and for the suffix of *φυλακή*, see G. 129, 1. — *ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι*: for the prep. *ἐν*, see G. 191, II. 1. — *φρουράρχοις*: *φρουράς*, *watcher*, *guard* (*πρό* and *ὄρω*), and *ἀρχω* (G. 131, 1 & 3). — *λαμβάνειν*, *enlist*. — *ὥς . . . πόλεσι*, on the ground that *Tissaphernes* was plotting against the cities (G. 278, 1). Compare *ὥς ἀποκτενῶν* in § 3. — *καὶ γὰρ . . . τὸ ἀρχαῖον*, and (this was a plausible reason), for the cities of *Ionía* had originally (*τὸ ἀρχαῖον*, G. 160, 2) belonged to *Tissaphernes* (G. 169, 1). *ἦσαν*: *impf.* used with *τὸ ἀρχαῖον* of a time prior to the main action. *ἀρχαῖος* is derived from *ἀρχή*, *beginning* (G. 129, 12; cf. 128, 2 b). — *ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένην*, having been given (G. 277, 6) him by (*ἐκ* to express the agent) the King. For the prep. *ἐκ*, see G. 191, I. 3. — *ἀφαιστήκεσαν*: the perfect of *ἵστημι* was originally *σε-στη-κα*, which with the *ε* of the plup. (G. 101, 4) prefixed would become *ε-σε-στη-καν*. The *σ* was then transposed and became *τ*, and from this form by contraction came *εἰστήκεαν*. The form *ἵστή-καν* also occurs (G. 101, 4, n.). — *Μιλήτου*: case (G. 191, I. 5). Cyrus had not been invested by his father with the command of the Greek cities of *Ionía* (Grote, Chap. LXIX.), but these remained, so far as they were subject to Persian control, under the charge of *Tissaphernes*. When, however, after the accession of *Artaxerxes*, trouble arose between *Cyrus* and *Tissaphernes*, these Greek cities revolted to the former with the single exception of *Miletus*. See i. 9. 8, 9. This was greatly to the advantage of *Cyrus*, as it kept his way open to the sea. See the map.

7. *προαισθόμενος*, having become aware (or in Eng. more commonly, becoming aware) beforehand. — *τὰ αὐτά*: distinguish carefully from the following *ταῦτα* (G. 79, 2). In the pl., because the Greek looked at the action of revolting with reference to its parts; but in Eng., this same thing. — *βουλευομένων* (sc. *τινάς*) is in indirect discourse (G. 280). — *ἀποστήναι*: in app. to the preceding *τὰ αὐτά ταῦτα*. — *τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ*: relic of the original demon. meaning of the art. (G. 143, 1). — *αὐτῶν*: part. gen. (G. 168). — *ἐπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας* is subordinated to *συλλέξας ἐτολί-*



ὄρκε, when he had taken the fugitives under his protection, he collected an army and laid siege, etc. ἐπολαβὼν καὶ (mark the conjunction) συλλέξας ἐπολιόρκει would mean when he had taken, etc., and had collected, etc., he laid siege, etc. — ἐπολιόρκει: continued action. From πόλις and ἔργω, to hem in. — καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, both by land and sea. For the prep. κατὰ, see G. 191, IV. 2. — ἐκβάλλω, to eject, banish; φεύγω, to flee, be in banishment; κατὰγω, to lead back, restore from banishment; ἐκπίπτω, to fall out, be banished. — καὶ αὖτις . . . στρατεύμα, and in this again he had (G. 184. 4) another pretext for collecting (G. 262, 2) an army. αὖτις in agreement with the noun in the pred., since otherwise it would be τοῦτο.

8. ἤξιον . . . αὐτοῦ: he urged (ἄξιω, to think ἄξιον, to claim) on the ground that he was (G. 277, 2) a brother of his, etc. — δοθῆναι: obj. of ἤξιον (G. 260, 1), with πόλεως for its subj. — οἰ: the indir. reflex. (G. 144, 2). Accented because it is emphatic (G. 28, n. 1). — ἀρχαν: parallel in const. to δοθῆναι, i. e. he thought it right rather than that the cities should be given to him than (he thought it right) that Tissaphernes should control them. — αὐτῶν: case (G. 171, 3). — συνέπραττεν . . . αὐτῷ, co-operated with him in this, lit. did this with (σύν) him. Why is ταῦτα in the pl.? See note on τὰ αὐτά in § 7. — πρὸς ἑαυτὸν: used adj. (G. 141, n. 8). πρὸς of personal relation that is hostile (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 δ). — ὥστε ἡσθάνετο: ὥστε with the ind. after a full stop (G. 237). Cf. ὥστε εἶναι in § 5. — Τισσαφέρνης . . . δαπανᾷν, but thought that he (αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus) was incurring expense (G. 260, 2) about his forces, because he was at war (G. 277, 2) with Tissaphernes (G. 186, n. 1). For the prep. ἀμφί, see G. 191, VI. 1. — ὥστε . . . πολεμοῦντων, consequently he was not at all (οὐδέν, G. 160, 2) displeased at their being at war (G. 278, 1). — καὶ γάρ, and (the more) because, involving an ellipsis, as always. Cf. § 6. — ἀποπέμψω, to send what is due (ἀπό, remit. — ὄν: assimilation in case (G. 153). — ἐτύγγαθεν ἔχων, had previously, as it happened, possessed. Cf. παρὼν ἐτύγγαθεν in § 2. For the tense of ἐτύγγαθεν, cf. ἦσαν in § 6. Note throughout this sect. the use of the impf. to express continuance.

9. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ: the Thracian Chersonesus (χέρσος, later χέρρες, dry land, as opposed to water, and νῆσος, island; Lat. peninsula). See map. — Ἀβύδου: case (G. 182, 2). — τόνδε τὸν τρόπον, in the following (G. 148, n. 1) manner (G. 160, 2), equal to ὅδε in § 6. — Κλέαρχος: the general most trusted by Cyrus. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 1-15. — ἡγάσθη, came to admire (G. 200, n. 5 δ), aor. of ἀγαμαί — δίδωσι: change to the historical pres. Cf. ἀναβαίνει, ἀνέβη in § 2 and n. — δαρικαί: the darics mentioned here were gold coins worth about \$5.40. See note on i. 7. 18. — χρυσίον, gold money, more lit. a gold piece, der. from χρυσός with the suffix ιο- (see G. 129, 8). — ἀπό, by means of. — συνέλεξεν, ἐπολέμα: note the diff. in tense. — τοῖς Θρηξὶ τοῖς . . . οἰκοῦσι: position of the attributive adj. phrase (G. 142, 2). Cf. ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ κ. τ. λ., above. The acc. Ἑλλησποντον with reference to a preceding state of motion, as in the phrase εἰς τόπον οἰκᾷ, to (go into and) dwell in a place. For the prep. πρὶς, see G. 191, IV. 3. — εἰς, for, of purpose (G. 191, III. 1 d).

— ἐκοῦσαι: to be translated by an adv. (G. 138, n. 7). — τοῦτο . . . σπράττωμα, and in this way again this army was secretly supported (G. 279, 4) for him.

Page 3. — 10. ξένος: in the sense often of *guest-friend*, a citizen of another state with whom one has a treaty of hospitality, used of both parties, though commonly, as here, of the *guest* as contrasted with the *host*. The word often means also simply *stranger*, and again, as below, *hired soldier*, *mercenary*. — ἐπὶ: for this prep., here used to express agency, see G. 191, VI. 7. — οἰκοί: used as adj. (G. 141, n. 3). For its accent, see G. 22, n. 1. — ἀντι-στασιωτῶν, *opponents, antagonists*. στασιότης from στάσις, *faction* (ἵστα-μαι), the suffix -σι- signifying *action* (see G. 129, 3). On the force of the suffix -τα-, cf. δπλίτας in § 2 and note. — αἰτεῖ . . . μισθόν, *asks him for pay for* (εἰς) 2000 mercenaries (and) for three months (G. 167, 5). Sometimes rendered, *asks him for about* (εἰς, cf. note on εἰς, i. 2. 3) 2000 mercenaries, etc., but it seems impossible that Cyrus should have been willing to send off 4000 Greeks on so distant an expedition, when his whole aim was to gather Greek troops about him as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, it was an easy matter for him to furnish Aristippus the means for collecting this number. — ὡς . . . ἀντιστασιωτῶν, *on the ground that* (cf. the use of ὡς with ἐπιβουλεύοντος in § 6) *in this way he would get the better of his opponents*. περιγένομενος ἄν (G. 277, 2) would, if expressed by a finite mood, be περιγένοιτο ἄν (G. 211). The prot. to this apod. is contained in οὕτω (G. 223, 1). — μή: with the inf. (G. 283, 3). — καταλῦσαι, *to end* (sc. his quarrel). — πρὶν ἄν συμβουλευσῆται: πρὶν with the subj. (G. 240, 1 and 2).

11. Πρόξενον: the particular friend of Xenophon, at whose invitation the latter took part in the expedition. An account is given of him in ii. 6. 16–20. — ὡς βουλόμενος, ὡς παρεχόντων: the first ὡς shows that βουλόμενος, κ. τ. λ., gives the cause assigned by Cyrus for his command to Proxenus, the second ὡς shows that παρεχόντων does the same for βουλόμενος, while ὡς further on before πολεμήσων shows that this part. gives the purpose declared by Cyrus for ἐκλέυσεν, κ. τ. λ. The further idea, implied in the first and third cases, that the cause and the purpose were not the *true* grounds of his action, is derived from the context and is not necessarily implied by this use of ὡς. Neither is there any conditional force in the part. with ὡς. Cf. with these three cases of ὡς with the part., the places where it occurs in §§ 3, 6, and 10. — εἰς, *into the country of*. — Πισίδας: the Pisidians were a marauding race, occupying the western range of Mt. Taurus. See map. — ξένους . . . τούτους, *these* (G. 137) *also being guest-friends* (G. 136) *of his*. — σὺν τοῖς φύγασι, *with the aid of the exiles*. Cf. with this the simple dat. Τισσαφέρνη that precedes (G. 186, n. 1), and for the prep. σὺν, see G. 191, II. 2. — As stated in the prefatory note, Cyrus, on coming down to the coast as satrap, had used all the means in his power to get the good-will of the Lacedaemonians. On the termination of the Peloponnesian War in the spring of 404 B. C., many men whose lives had been wholly spent under arms were left without employment. This made it

the easier now for Cyrus to collect the army that he wished, an army of trained veterans that could be thoroughly depended upon in a dangerous enterprise. Some of those who accompanied him were, like Xenophon, men of a superior grade, disheartened by the political condition of things that followed the war, and drawn into this expedition by personal admiration for the prince, or personal attachment to some of his officers.

## CHAPTER II.

**SYNOPSIS:** Cyrus, being now ready to set out inland, assembles his troops at Sardis, announcing, in order to conceal his real object, his intention of expelling the Pisidians from their territory (1-4). The king, informed of the real facts by Tissaphernes, makes ready to meet him. Cyrus sets out from Sardis and marches through Lydia across the Maeander to Colossae in Phrygia, where he is joined by Menon (5, 6). Thence he proceeds to Celaenae, a city which the historian describes at some length, where he waits a month and is joined by the rest of his Greek troops. He reviews and numbers these (7-9). Thence he proceeds northwest through Peltæ to Κεραμῶν ἀγορά (11), and then east to Καδστρου πεδίον, where Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, meets him and furnishes him money with which to pay his troops (11, 12). Thence southeast to Thymbrium and Tyriaeum, where he reviews his whole army (13-18). Thence through Iconium into Lycaonia (19). From here Menon, accompanied by Epyaxa, proceeds due south into Cilicia; Cyrus northeast to Dana (20). After some delay caused by the king of Cilicia, Cyrus himself crosses the mountains and enters Tarsi, which had been abandoned by the king (21-24). Menon had reached this city five days before, having lost two companies in the passage of the mountains (25). Syennesis the king finally obeys a summons from Cyrus, and they seal their compact of friendship with gifts (26, 27).

1. ἐπεὶ . . . ἀνω, *but when at length it seemed good* (not simply it seemed, cf. note on i. 3. 11) *to him to proceed* (G. 202, with 1) *inland*. More than a year had been spent in preparation. ἀνω, *up, inland, from the coast*. So ἀνα-βαίνω, ἀνά-βασις. — τὴν μὲν . . . βουλόμενος, *he gave as his pretext indeed (that he was going) because he wished*. Note the voice of ἐποιεῖτο (G. 199, 2). μὲν *implies* the clause with δέ, which if expressed might be, τῇ δ' ἄλθις ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἐπορεύετο. On ὡς βουλόμενος, cf. the note on ὡς βουλόμενος in i. 1. 11. — ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ: prep. repeated, as often. — παντά-πασιν: der.? — ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺτους, *avowedly against these*. — τὸ βαρβαρικόν: sc. σπράτευμα. So with τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Note the suffix κός (G. 129, 13 a), and cf. ξενικός, below. — ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἦκαν, *to come there also*, i. e. to Sardis, § 4. — λαβόντι, *with* (G. 277, 6). — ὅσον . . . σπράτευμα, *whatever troops he had*. Cf. ὅσους εἶχε φυλακὰς in i. 1. 6, with the note, and δ εἶχε σπράτευμα, below. This attraction of the antecedent (G. 154) is a common const. in Eng. also. — Ἀριστίππῳ: Aristippus did not come in person, but sent Menon (i. 2. 6, and ii. 6. 28). — συναλλαγέντι: cf. for the meaning καταλῦσαι in i. 1. 10. — ἀπο-πέμψαι: cf. note on ἀπέπεμπε in i. 1. 8. — τοῦ ξενικού: sc. στρατεύματος, and for the case

see G. 171, 3. — λαβόντα: so far removed from *ἐνί*, with which we should expect it to agree (cf. λαβόντι and συναλλαγέντι, above), that it takes the case of the (unexpressed) subject of ἦκαν. See G. 138, n. 8 b (*Dat.*). — πλὴν: sc. τοσοῦτων (G. 191, I. 5) as antecedent to ὅποσοι (G. 87, 1). — ἀκροπόλεις: show how ἀκρό-πολις came to have the meaning of *citadel*.

2. ἐκάλεσε: short vowel of the stem retained (G. 109, 1, n. 2 b). — ἐκέλευσε, *urged*. Note the chiasmic arrangement, ἐκάλεσε δὲ τοὺς πολιορκούντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε. — ὑποσχόμενος . . . οἰκαδε, *promising* (see ὑποσχόμεμαι) *them, if he should successfully accomplish the objects* (i. 152) *for which he was taking the field, not to stop until he should restore them to their homes* (οἰκαδε, G. 61). Verbs of *promising* (G. 203, n. 2) may take the infinitive either *in indirect discourse* (i. e. the future), or *not in indirect discourse* (G. 202) as here. (The fut. παύσεσθαι here has only the authority of a correction in one MS.) The dependent verbs, however, except ἐστρατεύετο, are constructed on the principles of indirect discourse (G. 248, 1), and we might have had εἰν καταπράξει and πρὶν ἂν καταγάγῃ, representing εἰν καταπράξω and πρὶν ἂν καταγάγω of the direct form. On the other hand, ἐστρατεύετο, for which, on the principles of indirect discourse, we might have had either στρατεύοιτο or στρατεύεται (as representing στρατεύομαι of the direct form), is not included in the indirect discourse, but is constructed like an ordinary past verb (like those mentioned in G. 243, n. 2); for a fuller explanation of this, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 77, 1, n. 2; § 74, 2, n. 2; § 70, n. 2. — πρόσθεν πρὶν: cf. i. 1. 10, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 67, n. 4. — ἡβέως: adv. der. from ἡβός (G. 74, 1).

Page 4. — αὐτῷ: dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — παρήσαν εἰς, *arrived at*, i. e. *came to* (εἰς) *Sardis and were by* (παρ-ἦσαν) *it*. The army was encamped probably outside the city, so that εἰς means simply *to*. Sardis was the capital of Lydia and at this time the residence of Cyrus as satrap. See map.

3. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: cf. τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως in i. 1. 5, and the n. — εἰς, *to the number of*, with numerals (G. 191, III. 1, c). This word and ἀμφί, *about* (G. 191, VI. 1, 3), when used in this sense, are still prepositions and take the numeral in the accus. Cf. πελτασταὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους, *about two thousand* (acc.) *peltasts* (nom.) below in § 9, where ἀμφί . . . δισχιλίους is an adj. phrase. ὥς and ὅσον, on the other hand, are in this sense adverbs and do not affect the case of the numeral that follows. — γυμνήτας: the accent determines the dec. to which the noun belongs, the termination -ας being long in the first dec. and short in the third (G. 22, 2). The term γυμνής, *light-armed soldier* (der. from γυμνός, with which cf. the use of ψιλοί in iii. 3. 7), as opposed to *hoplite*, is generic, and comprehends the πελταστής, *targeteer*, τοξότης, *bowman*, and σφενδονήτης, *slinger*. — ὥς, *about*, see note on εἰς, above. — Μεγαρέυς: for the suffix see G. 129, 10. — ἦν: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, n. 1). — τῶν στρατευσάντων: pred. part. gen. (G. 169, 1).

4. οὗτοι μὲν: in contrast with those who joined him later (§ 6 and § 9). Sentences in Greek begin in general, contrary to the practice in Eng., with a conjunction. The exceptions to this principle in Xen. are mainly such

sentences as begin with demonstratives or adverbs of place; cf. οὗτοι μὲν, κ. τ. λ., here, *τούτου τοῦ ἐβρος*, κ. τ. λ., in § 5, *τούτων διαβάς*, κ. τ. λ. and *ἐνταῦθα ἤμεινον*, κ. τ. λ., in § 6, etc. Such sentences are called cases of *asyndeton* (ἀ-σύν-δετον, *δέω*, to bind). — αὐτῷ: dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). — Τισσαφέρνης πορεύεται, κ. τ. λ.: he declares this himself in ii. 3. 19. — κατα-νόησας, *remarking, seeing*. — ἡγησάμενος: der. from the same root as *ἀγω*. It has, like *duco* in Lat., the two general meanings of *to lead* and *to think*. — εἶναι: quoted inf. (G. 260, 2). — μείζονα ἢ ὥς, *too extensive to be*, lit. *greater than as (it would be, if)*, etc. — ὥς before βασιλεία, *to*, used only with the acc. of a *person* (G. 191, III. 2). — βασιλεία: cf. note on βασιλέως in i. 1. 5. — ἥ... τάχιστα, *as rapidly as possible*, lit. *in what way* (sc. ἴδῃ, G. 188, 1) *he could most quickly*. — ἱππέας: a denominative in *ενς* (G. 129, 2 a).

5. ἤκουσε: with double obj. (G. 171, 2, N. 1). — οὗς: antec. omitted (G. 152). — ὥρμητο: the march began in the spring of 401 B. C. — ἀπό: not ἐξ, *out of*, because the army was not encamped *within* the city. — διὰ, *through* (G. 191, IV. 1). — σταθμὸν τρεῖς, *three days' journey* (G. 161). The σταθμὸς was properly the *halting (ἵσταμαι) place* (cf. Lat. *sta-bulum*), and so the *day's journey* or *march* that preceded. — παρασάγγας: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). The *parasang* was a Persian measure equal to 30 stadia (ii. 2. 6), or about a league (3½ statute miles). — ἑκοσι καὶ δύο: note the conj. (G. 77, 2, N. 2). This made their rate of travel greater than ordinary; according to vii. 8. 28, the average rate was 5½ parasangs per day. — Μαλανδρον: position (G. 142, 2, N. 6). Give the Eng. der. See map. — πλῆθρα: the *plethrum* measured about 101 Eng. feet. — γέφυρα... ἐπτά, *and there was a pontoon-bridge over (it) made of seven boats* (G. 188, 1).

6. διαβάς: relatively *past* (G. 204). Still we render loosely, *crossing this*, etc. — οἰκουμένην, *inhabited*, many of the cities of Asia being then, as now, deserted, ἔρημοι. — εὐδαίμονα, *prosperous*. Give its der. — ἡμέρας: acc. of extent of time (G. 161). — Μένων: the general sent by Aristippus. An unfavorable account of him is given in ii. 6. 21-29.

7. ἐνταῦθα... ἦν, *there Cyrus had* (G. 184, 4) *a palace*. — βασιλεια: sc. δώματα. With the pl. used in this way of the separate buildings composing the palace, cf. *aedes* in Lat. Distinguish this word from βασιλεια and βασιλεία (both of the first dec.) respectively. — ἦν: agreeing with the nearer subj. (G. 135, 2, and N. 1). — παράδεισος: a Persian word meaning properly *a walled place*. What is the Eng. der.? — θηρίων: limiting πλήρης (G. 180, 1; 172, 1). — ἀπὸ ἵππου, *on horseback*, lit. *from a horse*, because in hunting the attack upon the animal hunted proceeds *from* the horse. Where this relation is not to be expressed, the phrase is ἐφ' ἵππου, as in iii. 4. 49, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, *he led them on horseback*. — ὅποτε βούλοιο: a cond. rel. expressing a gen. supposition in past time (G. 233). — διὰ... παραδείσου, *and through the middle* (G. 142, 4, N. 4) *of the park*, etc. — αὐτοῦ: in the pred. pos. (G. 142, 4, N. 3 a). — πηγὰς εἶναι ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων: the more precise statement would be ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, but the gen. is used with ἐκ with reference to the subsequent flowing of the water *out from (under) the palace*.

Page 5. — 8. *ἔστι*: accent (G. 28, N. 1 (1), end). — *ἐπὶ*, close upon, with the dat. and a verb of rest. So *ὑπὸ* (next line), *under, at the foot of*. — *καὶ οὗτος*, *this also*, i. e. the Marsyas as well as the Maeander. — *ἐμβάλλει*, empties, intransitively. — *ποδῶν*: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3). — *λέγεται . . . ἐκδεῖραι*, *Apollo is said to have flayed, etc.*, the pers. const. for the impers., *λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκδεῖραι*. The dir. form of the anecdote would be *ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλων ἐξέβαρε . . . ἐκρέμασε* (G. 246, with note). *Μαρσύαν*: Marsyas is said to have challenged Apollo to a musical contest, on the terms that the vanquished should be at the mercy of the victor. When Apollo gained the day, he punished Marsyas for his insolence by hanging him to a tree and flaying him alive. (See *Marsyas* in a Class. Dict.) — *ἐρίζοντα* (G. 277, 2), *in a contest*. — *οἱ* as indir. reflexive (G. 144, 2 a) refers to Apollo. — *περὶ*: properly around (G. 191, VI. 5). So in a derived sense here, *concerning*, Lat. *de*. — *σοφίας*, *musical skill*, lit. *wisdom*, der. from *σοφός* (G. 129, 7). — *δέρμα*: note the suff. *ματ-*, signifying the result of the action (G. 129, 4), and for the stem cf. *ἐκ-δεῖραι* (*δερ-*), above. *δεῖραι* shows the same root that the Eng. word *tear* does. — *θεν*, *whence*, for *ἐθ* or *οὐ*, *where* (G. 87, 2). Cf. *εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων* in § 7 and note. — *διὰ*: with the acc. *on account of* (G. 191, IV. 1, 2). — *Μαρσύας*: pred. nom. (G. 136).

9. *τῇ μάχῃ*, *in the well-known (τῇ) battle* (G. 188, 1), that of Salamis, 480 B. C. For the suffix of *μάχη*, see G. 129, 1. — *λέγεται οικοδομησάι*: cf. *λέγεται ἐκδεῖραι* in § 8 and the note. — *τοξότας Κρήτας*: the Cretan bowmen were celebrated in antiquity. — *Σοφαίνετος*: if this is the general mentioned in § 3, the purpose for which he had been left behind must remain in doubt. The numbers given in the preceding sections and the sum total given here (at the end of the section) will not tally. — *ἐξέτασιν*: from *ἐξ-ετάω*, *to examine thoroughly*, *ετάω*, from *ἐτάος*, *real*. — *ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες*, *the whole together amounted to*. — *ὀπλίζται, πελτασταί*: a case of part. appos. (G. 137, N. 2). The second of these nouns is used generically for *light-armed troops* in general, including the *γυμνήτες* (§ 3) and the *τοξόται* (mentioned in this section). — *ἀμφὶ τοὺς δυσχίλους*: see note on *εἰς* in § 3.

10. Up to this time the march has been southeast. Cyrus now turns back and marches northwest as far as *Κεραμῶν ἀγορά*, probably with the double object of increasing his supplies and getting on the main high-road to the east. — *ἐν αἷς*: sc. *ἡμέραις*. — *τὰ Δύκαια ἱθυσε*, *celebrated the Lycaea with sacrifice*, a festival in honor of *Ζεὺς Λυκαῖος*, so named from Mt. Lycasus in Arcadia. *τὰ Δύκαια* is a cogn. acc. (G. 159). Cf. the phrase *πέμπειν Βοηδρόμια*, *to celebrate the Boedromia by a procession*. — *ἦσαν*: in agreement with the pred. nom. (G. 135, N. 4). — *στλεγγίδες*: a sort of tiara, made of gold, as here stated, and worn as an ornament for the head. — *χρυσαί*: der. from *χρυσός* (G. 129, 14). — *Κεραμῶν*: probably the gen. of *Κεραμοί*, *the Ceramians*, though this is uncertain. With *Κεραμῶν ἀγορά* cf. the Eng. *Newmarket*. — *ἐσχάτην πρὸς*, *the last bordering on, on the road to*.

11. The rate at which Cyrus marched these three days was very rapid.

His object probably was to meet Epyaxa before his troops became clamorous for their pay. — **Καύστρου πεδίον**, the name of a town (lit. *plain of the Caulster*), a compound noun like **Καραμῶν ἀγορά**, above. Cf. the Eng. names of places, *Dartmoor* and *Springfield*. — **ἔφελετο**, *there was due*. — **πλέον**: used indeclinably for **πλέονων**. — **θύρας**, *quarters*, just as **ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις** in i. 9. 3 means *at court*. — **ὁ δὲ . . . διήγε**, *but he continually put them off with the hope (of getting their pay)*. — **ἀνώμενος**: quoted after **δῆλος ἦν** (G. 280, N. 1). — **πρός**, *in accordance with* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — **τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου**: the article limits **τρόπου** (G. 142, 1). — **ἔχοντα**, *when able* (G. 138, N. 8 b).

Page 6. — **ἀπ-ήρουν**, **ἀπο-διδόναι**: note the force of the preposition. But in § 12 simply **δοῦναι**, because Cyrus had in fact no claims on Epyaxa.

12. Syennesis is said to have pursued a double policy and to have endeavored to propitiate both Cyrus and Artaxerxes, determined to keep his throne whichever of the two prevailed. The kings of Cilicia were at this time tributary to Persia. On the Ionic gen. in **Συεννέσιος**, see G. 53, 1, N. 3. — **τοῦ βασιλέως**: note the article. — **ὀλέγετο δοῦναι**: the pers. const., but below **ὀλέγετο συγγενίσθαι Κύρον**. — **οὖν**, *at any rate*, i. e. however he got the money, he *at any rate* certainly had it to pay his troops with. Cf. **οὖν**, below, in §§ 22, 25. — **στρατιᾷ**: his *Greek* army. — **φύλακας**: note the accent, and cf. the note on **φυλακάς** in i. 1. 6.

13. **παρά**: with the acc. because of the course of the water, after it has left the **κρήνη**, *along by* the road. Cf. **πηγαὶ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων** in § 7 and the note. — **κρήνη . . . καλουμένη**, *the so-called* (G. 276, 1) *spring of Midas*, lit. *the spring called (that) of Midas*. — **τὸν Σάτυρον**: Midas, the proverbially wealthy king of Phrygia, is said to have caught the satyr Silenus (the early protector and constant companion of Bacchus) by making the fountain here mentioned flow with wine, instead of water. Another form of the story appears in the account of the "Gardens of Midas," placed by Herodotus (viii. 158) in Macedonia, in which Silenus is said to have been made prisoner by garlands of roses. — **οἶνω . . . αὐτήν**, *by mixing wine in it*, lit. *by mixing it with wine* (the means, G. 188, 1).

14. **Κύρου**: genitive object of **δεσθῆναι** (G. 172, N. 1). The object inf. **ἐπιδεῖξαι** (G. 260, 1) is in this case the acc. — **βουλόμενος**: Cyrus was the more willing to gratify her, since he saw the advantage of giving Syennesis a vivid impression of the strength of his army. — **τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων**: the article repeated, because the Greeks and barbarians are not viewed as a single army, but as separate forces.

15. **ὡς . . . μάχην, as their custom (was) for battle** (sc. **ταχθῆναι**). **νόμος**, *regulation, custom, law*, from **νέμω**, *to distribute, portion out*. — **στήναι**, *to take their places*, not *to stand*. — **ἑκαστον**: sc. **στρατηγόν**. — **ἐπὶ τεττάρων**, *four deep*. This made the front of the army very extended. — **εἰς**: in agreement with the nearer subj. (G. 135, N. 1). — **τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, κ. τ. λ.**: the positions were respectively *the right, the left, and the centre*, named in the order of danger and honor. *The right* was the most honorable position, because a flank attack on this side left the soldier unprotected, the shield

being carried on the left arm. — εὐάνημον: εὖ and ὄνομα, properly of good name or omen. Hence left, used euphemistically to avoid the ill-omened word ἀριστερὸς, omens from the left being unlucky with the Greeks.

16. πρῶτον μὲν: correlated by εἶτα δὲ in the next line. For the comparison of πρῶτος, see G. 73, 2. — κατ' ὁας . . . τάξεις, by (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c) troops and companies, respectively of cavalry and infantry. — τάξις (ταγ-σις), properly a drawing up, as of troops, see G. 129, 3. — τοῖς Ἕλλησιν: governed by ἰδεῖσθαι, above. — παρελαύνων: Cyrus rode by the Greeks with Epyaxa rather than have them march by him, probably because in this way they presented a more solid and imposing front. — ἄρμα, chariot (two-wheeled); ἄμαξα, wagon; ἄρμ-ἄμαξα, easy-carriage (four-wheeled), for women and children. — χαλκῆ: derived from χαλκός (G. 129, 14). — ἀκακαλυμμένες, uncovered, a circumstantial part of manner (G. 277, 2).

17. στήσας: first aorist and so transitive; for its relation to πέμψας, see note on ὑπολαβάν in i. 1. 7. — πρὸ, before (G. 191, I. 4 a). — μέσης: cf. μέσση in § 7 and note. — προβαλίσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, to present (throw before themselves their) arms. — ὀλην τὴν φάλαγγα, the phalanx in a body (G. 142, 4, n. 5). — οἱ δέ, but they (G. 143, I, n. 2). — ἐσάλπιγγε: an impers. verb (G. 134, n. 1 d). — ἐκ δὲ . . . σκηνάς, and they (sc. αὐτῶν, G. 278, 1) after this (G. 191, I. 3 b) advancing more and more rapidly with a shout, of their own accord the soldiers (G. 184, 4) began to run toward the camp.

Page 7. — αὐτόματος, acting of one's own will (αὐτός and μάω, to desire eagerly), Eng. automaton. — ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς: to give the barbarians the impression that they intended an attack. In the next section the Greeks, it is said, ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, dispersed to their own tents.

18. βαρβάρων: subjective gen. (G. 167, 2). With φόβος, sc. ἦν. — καὶ . . . τε . . . καὶ: the first καὶ connects the statement that precedes with the double (τε . . . καὶ, both . . . and) one that follows. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον, i. e. οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔφυγον. Cf. § 3, and i. 1. 5. — λαμπρότητα: from λαμπρός (see G. 129, 7). — τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος: position (G. 142, 2, n. 2, end). — ἥσθη: see ἥδομαι. — τὸν . . . ἰδὼν, seeing the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians (G. 141, n. 3).

19. ταύτην . . . ἔδωκεν, this country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder (G. 265). It is at this point that Cyrus first gets out of his own satrapy. — πολέμιος: from πόλεμος (G. 129, 12). — ὡς οὖσαν, on the ground that it was (G. 277, n. 2).

20. τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν, by the shortest road (G. 159, n. 5), peculiar use of the cogn. acc. (G. 159) to include the road or way over which motion proceeds. — ἀποπέμψαι, συνέπεμψεν: cf. note on ἀναβαίνειν, ἀνίστη, i. 1. 2. — στρατιώτας: without the article, as if attracted into the rel. clause, οὗς στρατιώτας, κ. τ. λ. (G. 154). — αὐτόν, himself, i. e. Menon. — μετὰ: properly among (G. 191, VI. 3). Here in company with. — Δάνα: a neut. pl. See map for the two routes into Cilicia here mentioned. — ἐν ᾧ: sc. χρόνῳ, and cf. ἐν αἷς in § 10. — φοινικιστὴν βασιλεῖον, a wearer of the royal purple (φοινίξ), i. e. a nobleman of the highest rank. — καὶ ἕτερον . . . δυνατόν, and a certain other powerful man of his subordinates. In i. 8. 5



Ariaeus is called ὑπαρχος (lit. *subordinate commander*). Give the Eng. der. from δυνάστης. — ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ: his charge was, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἐμοί (G. 260, 2).

21. ἡ εἰσβολή: the so-called Πύλαι τῆς Κιλικίας. — ἀμαξ-ιτός: give the der. and cf. G. 131, 1. — ἀμήχανος . . . στρατεύματι, *impracticable for an army* (G. 184, 3) *to enter* (261, 1). — εἰ τις ἐκάλειν, *if there was anybody to oppose* (lit. *trying to prevent*, G. 200, n. 2) *them*. — εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἁκρῶν: not with the intention of real opposition, but to give color to his asserted allegiance to the king. — εἶναι: quoted (G. 246). — διὰ, *wherefore*, i. e. διὰ δ. — ὑστεραίᾳ: sc. ἡμέρᾳ. For the case, see G. 189. — ὅτι λελοιπὼς εἴη, κ. τ. λ.: the messenger's announcement continues to the end of the section. He said, λελοιπὲς or λελοιπὼς ἐστὶ (see G. 118, 4), Συέννης, κ. τ. λ., *Syennesis has left the heights since (ἐπεί) he learned, etc., and because (καὶ ὅτι) he heard, etc.* The clause beginning ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος is quoted after ὅσπερ (see on this form G. 247, with n. 2), ἦν occurring where εἴη or ἐστὶ would be more regular (G. 243, n. 2). The order of the last of the sentence is, ὅτι ἤκουε (G. 247) Ταμῶν (G. 42, 2) ἔχοντα (G. 280) τριήρεις περιπλεούσας. The τριήρεις περιπλεούσας, being a much more important fact than the Ταμῶν ἔχοντα, is put first, and seems to be the clause quoted after ἤκουε, but is not.

22. οὖν, *at any rate*, i. e. whatever the reason was that Syennesis left the heights. Cf. § 12. — οὐδενὸς καλύοντος, *without hindrance*, manner (G. 278, 1). — τὰς σκηνάς, *the camp*, antecedent of the relative adverb οὗ, *where*.

Page 8. — ἐφύλαττον: cf. ἦσαν in i. 1. 6, ἐτύγγανεν in i. 1. 8. — ἀνέβη, κατέβαινε: mark the change of tense. — ἐπίρρυτον: der.? see G. 15, 2. — δένδρων: with σύμπλεων (G. 180, 1). — σύμπλεων: Attic second dec. (G. 64). — πολύ: agreement (G. 138, n. 1 a). — φέροι: not the hist. pres. Cf. note on ἀθραίζονται, i. 1. 2. — ὄρος (Mt. Taurus) δ' αὐτό (i. e. τὸ πεδίον) περιέχε, κ. τ. λ.: see the map.

23. Ταρσοῦς, *Tarsi* or *Tarsus*, the birthplace of St. Paul. — ἦσαν: irregular agreement (G. 135, 2). Cf. § 7. — μέσον: neut. of μέσος used as a noun, as in the phrase μέσον ἡμέρας, *midday*. The following gen. is part. (G. 167, 6). — ὄνομα, εἶρος: acc. of specification (G. 160, 1). — πλεθρῶν: limits ποταμός (G. 167, 5), not εἶρος.

24. οἱ οἰκοῦντες: substantively (G. 276, 2). — εἰς, ἐπὶ: with the acc. in each case, because of the subsequent motion implied in ἐξέλιπον, *abandoned the city for (and fled into) a stronghold up on the mountains*. — πλὴν οἱ . . . ἔχοντες: sc. οὐκ ἐξέλιπον. — οἱ παρὰ . . . οἰκοῦντες: cf. τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάσποντον οἰκοῦσι, i. 1. 9 and note. Those that remained did so for purposes of trade with the army and fleet respectively.

25. προτέρα . . . ἀφίκετο, *reached Tarsi five days* (G. 188, 2) *before* (G. 138, n. 7) *Cyrus* (G. 175, 1). For the comparison of πρότερος, see G. 73, 2. — εἰς τὸ πεδίον: adjectively (G. 142, 1 n. & 2). — οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ, *some . . . others* (G. 143, 1). — ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι, *had been cut to pieces* (G. 260, 2) *while committing some act of plunder* (G. 159, n. 2). — τὸ ἄλλα, *the rest of* (G. 142, 2, n. 3). — εἴτα, *then*, taking up the two pre-

ceding participles. — *ὄν*, however that was. Cf. § 22. — *ἑκατόν*: ordinarily a single λόχος numbered 100 men.

26. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, i. e. of Menon's army. Emphatic position, as also below, Κύρος δὲ ἐπελ, κ. τ. λ. — τοὺς Ταρσούς: appositive (G. 137). — διήρπασαν: mark the force of the prep. — μεταπέμπετο πρὸς ἑαυτόν, summoned repeatedly to himself. Cf. μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, i. 1. 2. — δ' οὐτε . . . οὐτε . . . ἤθελε, but he both declared that he had never before, etc., and was then unwilling, etc. The Greek often says οὐκ ἔφη εἰθεῖν, where we say he said that he did not go, οὐ φημι having the sense I deny. Here οὐτε . . . ἔφη . . . οὐτε . . . ἤθελε, lit. he neither declared (i. e. he denied) nor wished, is perfectly regular, though it cannot be translated literally. In οὐτε . . . ἔφη the direct discourse was ἦλθον (G. 246); in οὐτε . . . ἤθελε there is no indirect discourse. — οὐδενί (G. 283, 9): the dat. follows εἰς χεῖρας εἰθεῖν (G. 186, κ. 1), which implies union or approach, and commonly means to come to a conflict with some one, and here properly to come into close relations with (or into the hands of) some one. See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. χεῖρ, II. d. — ἔναι: sc. εἰς χεῖρας. — πρὶν ἔκαστε, ὅλας (G. 240, 1). Note the change of subject in ὅλας.

27. Κύρος δέ: sc. ἔδωκε. — παρὰ βασιλεῖ, at court, i. e. at the great King's, the article being omitted. — χρυσο-χάλινον, with gold-studded bridle (χαλινός). — ἀκινάκην, a short sword.

Page 9. — ἀφαρπάσσειν: one of the obj. of ἔδωκε supplied above (G. 280, 1). So ἀπολαμβάνειν in the next line. — τὰ δὲ . . . ἀπολαμβάνειν, and (the privilege of) taking back the slaves that had been seized, if they (i. e. Syennesis and the Cilicians) should fall in with them (i. e. the slaves) anywhere (G. 223). The apodosis is the inf. (fut. in time) ἀπολαμβάνειν. In place of ἦν που ἐντυγχάνουσιν we might have had εἰ που ἐντυγχάνοιεν (G. 248, 1).

### CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: A delay of 20 days at Tarsi is caused by the Greek soldiers, who now suspect that they are being led against Artaxerxes and refuse to go farther. Clearchus, who attempts to force his own troops forward, narrowly escapes being stoned to death. Afterwards, seeming to yield to their wishes, he calls them together and after shedding many hypocritical tears (1-3) details the benefits he has received at the hands of Cyrus, but nevertheless declares his intention to desert him and accompany them wherever they may go (4-6). More than 2000 men desert Xenias and Pasion, and encamp with Clearchus (7). Cyrus sends for Clearchus, who refuses to go but returns an encouraging message (8). Clearchus again assembles his soldiers, and in a cunningly constructed address points out to them the difficulties which lie in the way of their withdrawal from Cyrus (9-12). He is followed by several others (13), one of whom proposes a plan at some length which another immediately proves to be nonsense, both acting at the secret suggestion of Clearchus. They finally agree to send to Cyrus and ask his designs (14-19). Cyrus answers that he wishes to march against Abroctōmas, and promises them half again as much pay as before, whereupon they agree to follow him (20, 21).

1. οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵνα, *refused to go, said they would not go*. Cf. i. 2. 26, and note, and μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν, below. — τοῦ πρόσω, *forward*, a prose use of the gen. of place (G. 179, 2), like the adverbs in οὐ, as ποῦ, *where*, ὁμοῦ, *in the same place, together*, etc. — ὑπώπτευνον: cf. i. 1. 1. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *for this* (G. 191, VI. 2, 2 a). — πρῶτος: he was the first to do it; πρῶτον would mean, he did this first, and something else afterwards. πρῶτον μὲν, on the other hand (correl. to εἰτα δέ below in § 2), means *in the first place*. Cf. i. 2. 16. — ἐβιάζετο: attempted action (G. 200, N. 2). But below the aor. ἤρξατο, (*actually*) began to move forward. Clearchus is said in ii. 6. 8 to have been a man of stern will. — ἐβαλλον, *stoned*, sc. τοῖς λίθοις (G. 188, 1), as appears from καταπετρωθῆναι in § 2.

2. μικρόν, *by a little, narrowly* (G. 160, 2). — μή: added to the inf. to strengthen the neg. idea contained in ἐξέφυγε (G. 283, 6). — καταπετρωθῆναι, *being stoned to death* (κατά). — ἔγνω, *had come to know* (cf. note on ἐτελέτησε, i. 1. 3), and so *perceived*. — ὅτι δυνήσεται: quoted (G. 243; 280, N. 3). — ἐκ-κλησία (καλέω): the Eng. der.? — ἔδακρυε . . . ἑστώε, *stood* (G. 124, 1) and *wept a long time* (G. 161). — τοιάδε: with ref. to what follows (G. 148, N. 1).

3. ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, *fellow-soldiers*, ἄνδρες prefixed as a term of respect, as in the phrase of the courts, ἄνδρες δικασταί. Clearchus deals with the difficulty with great skill. — μὴ θαυμάζετε: pres. imperative in prohibition (G. 254). — χαλεπῶς . . . πράγμασιν, *am greatly distressed* (φέρω intrans.) *on account of the present troubles* (G. 188, 1). πράγ-μα is properly *the thing done* (G. 129, 4). — ξένος: cf. note on ξένος in i. 1. 10. — ἐγένετο, *became*, not *was*, cf. i. 1. 9. — τά τε . . . καί, *both honored in other ways* (G. 160, 1) and in particular, etc. — οὐς . . . οὐκ . . . ἔδαπάνων, *which I did not, when I had received them, lay up for myself* (used reflexively) *for private use* (or, more freely, *did not devote to my own personal use*), and (lit. but) *did not even squander in pleasure* (κατά, ἡδύς, πάσχω), but expended (impf.) on you.

4. ὑπέρ, *for, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — ἐτιμωρούμεν (sc. αὐτούς), *took vengeance upon or punished (them)*. τιμωρεῖν = *to avenge*, τιμωρεῖσθαι (mid.) = *to avenge one's self upon* (some one). — ἀφαιρεῖσθαι: double obj. (G. 164, with N. 2). — ἵνα . . . ἐκείνου, *that, in case he should have* (we might have had ἔάν τι δέχεται, G. 248, N.; *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 2) *any* (G. 172, N. 1) *need (of me), I might aid* (G. 216, 1) *him in return for the benefits I had received from him*, i. e. ἀντὶ τούτων ὧν (G. 153, with N. 1) εὖ ἔπαθον (G. 165, N. 1<sup>3</sup>) ὑπ' ἐκείνου.

5. ὑμεῖς: emphatic (G. 144, 1). So ἐγώ, below. Cf. also the beginning of § 6. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἐστὶ. — φίλῳ: an instrumental dat. (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εἰ, *whether* (G. 282, 4). — δίκαια: der. from δίκη (G. 129, 12). — οὖν: cf. note on οὖν, i. 2. 12. — ὅ τι ἂν δέη (sc. πάσχειν): a cond. rel. sent. (G. 232, 3). — οὐποτε οὐδέις: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). — ὡς εἰλόμην: quoted without change of mood (G. 243). Give the form of the verb in dir. disc. — ἀγαγόν, προδούς: for the relation of the two participles, see the note on ὑπολαβόν τοὺς φεύγοντας in i. 1. 7, and cf. στήσας . . . πέμψας . . . ἐκάλυσε in i. 2. 17.

Page 10. — 6. ἡμῶν: dat. of indir. obj. (G. 184, 2). — ὁ τι . . . πείσομαι: for the use of the moods, cf. § 5, above. — καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ, *equally . . . and . . . and*. — σὺν ὑμῖν, i. e. *if I should remain with you*, is the prot. (G. 226, 1) to the following ἂν εἶναι, which stands by quot. (G. 246) for ἂν εἶην. In the alternative sentence that follows, the prot. to ἂν εἶναι lies in ἔρημος ὢν, = εἰ . . . εἶην (G. 226, 1; 277, 4). The cond. rel. clause σπουδὴν ὅ, *ubique ero*, presents the supposed future case more vividly than the more regular σπουδὴν εἶην would have done, — *wherever I may be*, for *wherever I might be*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 63, 4, (a). The opt. with ἂν, it should be remembered, is sometimes merely a softened expression for the fut. indic. (G. 226, 2, n. 1). — τίμιος: der. from the same stem with τιμή (G. 129, 12). — ὅμων: gen. after an adj. of *want* (G. 180, 1). — οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι (= οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶην): ἂν (still belonging to εἶναι) is repeated after οὐτε before each of the dependent infinitives (G. 212, 2). — ἀφελῆσαι, ἀλῆσθαι: infinitives limiting ἱκανός (G. 261, 1). — ὥς . . . ἔχετε, *be of this opinion, therefore, that I shall go*, etc.; or more lit., to show the force of the causal gen. abs. with ὥς (G. 278, 1<sup>2</sup>, end), *since, therefore, I shall (as I say, ὥς) go*, etc., *be of this mind*. — εἴη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς: sc. ἔητε (*Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, n. 2<sup>a</sup>).

7. ταῦτα: with reference to what precedes (G. 148, n. 1). — οἱ τε, the art. receiving the accent from the following enclitic. — οἱ . . . πορεύεσθαι: explanatory of ταῦτα (G. 243). The direct discourse of οὐ φαίη πορεύεσθαι would be οὐ φημι πορεύεσθαι, *I deny that I am going* (see note on i. 2. 26). — πλείους for πλείονες (G. 72, 2, n. 1). — ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο: der. from στρατοπεδον (G. 131, 1). — Note that παρά occurs in this section with each of the three cases (G. 191, n. 1).

8. τοῖσι: dat. of cause (G. 188, 1). — στρατιωτῶν: gen. with adverb (G. 182, 2, end). — αὐτῷ: indir. obj. (G. 184, 1). — ὀλεγε θαρπεῖν, *bade him not to be discouraged* (G. 260, 1): λέγω in this use is equivalent to κελεύω; so εἶπον when used with the inf. (G. 260, 2, n. 1). — ὥς . . . δέον, *since this matter would be settled* (G. 278, 1<sup>2</sup>) *in the right way* (G. 139); ὥς (G. 277, n. 2) shows that the participial sentence gives the ground on which Clearchus bade Cyrus to be encouraged. — μεταπέμπεσθαι, *to continue to send for (him)*. — αὐτὸς . . . εἶναι, *but for himself* (modifies subj. of εἶναι, G. 188, n. 8) *he said he should not go*. αὐτὸς marks the opposition of the two persons, the thought being: “*You continue to send for me, but still I’ll not go.*”

9. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, *after this* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — ὁ, i. e. τε (G. 17, 1). τῶν . . . βουλόμενον, *any one of the rest* (G. 168) *that wished* (G. 276, 2). — τὰ Κύρου: πράγματα omitted (G. 141, n. 4). — δῆλον: sc. ἐστίν. — οὕτως . . . ἐκείνον, i. e. *his relations to us are in just (περὶ ὡς περ) the same position as ours to him*. — ἐπεὶ γε, *since at any rate*. — ἡμῖν: with the following noun (G. 185). — μισθο-δότης: compound noun expressing the agent (G. 131, 1; 129, 2 b).

10. μέντοι: used in sinister sense: “*Though our relations are at an end, he may, however, not be done with us.*” — καὶ μεταπεμπομένον αὐτοῦ, *though*

he continues to send, etc. (G. 277, N. 13). — τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, chiefly (G. 160, 2): the correl. follows in ἔπειτα καὶ. — αἰσχυνόμενος, from shame. — ἐβου-  
σμένος: quoted after σίνοιδα (G. 280, N. 2). — μὴ . . . ἐπιθῇ: obj. clause  
(G. 218). — δίκην ὧν . . . ἡδικησθαι, punishment for those things (sc. τούτων  
limiting δίκην, G. 153, N. 1) in which (ὧν for ἃ, cognate acc., G. 159, N. 2)  
he thinks he has been wronged (G. 280, 2) by me, — i. e. punishment for the  
wrongs he thinks he has suffered from me.

11. ἐμοὶ . . . καθύσθαι, the time, therefore, does not seem to me to be (one)  
for sleeping (G. 261, 1). δοκέω in the sense simply of to seem takes the inf.  
in indir. disc. (G. 246). In the sense of to seem good or best, as in the phrase  
δοκεῖ ἀπέναι, below, the accompanying inf. is not in indir. disc. In either  
case it is the subj. (not obj.) of δοκέω. Cf. the uses of videor in Lat. —  
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ourselves (G. 80; 171, 2). — ὅ τι χρῆ: an indir. question  
(G. 149, 2<sup>a</sup>). — ἐκ τούτων, next (G. 191, I. 3 b), expressing time (sequence)  
with an implied idea of consequence, in consideration of, in consequence of,  
the present circumstances. — ὥς μένομεν αὐτοῦ, as long as, while, we are  
staying here (αὐτοῦ, adv.). ὥς with the prea. ind. never can mean until.  
— σκεπτός εἶναι: in the dir. form (G. 246) σκεπτός ἐστί (G. 281, 2). —  
ἀσφαλίστα: superlative adv. (G. 75). — ὅπως μένομεν: an obj. clause  
after a verb of caring for with the subj. (G. 217, N. 1). But in the alterna-  
tive sentence we have the reg. constr. (G. 217), ὅπως ἄπιμεν (G. 200, N. 3 b,  
ὅπως ἔομεν. Many editions have μενούμεν for μένομεν by conjecture.

Page 11. — ἀνευ, without (G. 191, I. 5). — οὔτε . . . οὐδέν, neither gen-  
eral (G. 167, 1) nor private is of any use.

12. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος . . . φίλος ἦ, but the man (i. e. Cyrus) is a valuable (lit.  
worth much, G. 178, N.) friend, to whomsoever he is a friend (G. 233). —  
ἐχθρός, πολέμιος, i. e. whomsoever he is at war with (ἐν πολέμῳ), he comes  
to hate as a personal enemy, so earnest is he. — ναυτικήν: from ναύτης, a  
sailor, and that from ναῦς. Note the suff. in each case, κός, της. — ὁμοίως:  
with πάντες, which we all alike. — δοκοῦμέν μοι καθήσθαι: cf. δοκεῖ in  
§ 11, and the note. — αὐτοῦ: construe with πόρρω, at a distance from him  
(G. 182, 2). — ἄρα (sc. ἐστὶ): cf. § 11, above.

13. ἐκ τούτου, after this, upon this. — ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου: cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ  
αὐτομάτου, i. 2. 17. — λέγοντες, to say (G. 277, 3); in the next line ἐπιδα-  
κνύντες, showing (G. 277, 3 and 6; Moods and Tenses, § 109, 5, last ex.). —  
ἐκείνου, i. e. Clearchus. — εἴη: indir. question (G. 243). — ἀπορία: give its  
derivation. — μέναν, ἀπέναι: with ἀπορία (G. 261, 1).

14. εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, but one in particular proposed. Both this man and  
the one who answered him in § 16 doubtless spoke at the instigation of  
Clearchus. — ἀίσθαι: with εἶπε, with which in the sense of propose or  
command the inf. is not in indirect disc. (Moods and Tenses, § 15, 2, N. 3).  
Cf. § 8. The six following infinitives, beginning with ἀγοράζεσθαι, have the  
same construction with ἀίσθαι. The conditional sentences dependent on  
these inf., εἰ μὴ βούλεται and ἐὰν διδῷ (bis), — being dependent clauses in  
indirect discourse, — might have been each in the opt. (G. 243, 1), although  
εἰ βούλουτο would have been ambiguous. So ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι might have

been opt., like *ὡς ἀποπλέειν*, above (G. 248, κ.). — *ἡ δ' ἀγορά . . . στρατεύματι*: thrown in parenthetically by the historian to show the absurdity of the proposition. — *αἰτεῖν*: with two accs. (G. 164). — *πλοῖα*: *transport-vessels, boats*. — *ἐάν μὴ διδῷ*: the verb of the apod. is *αἰτάν*, which after *εἶπε, proposed*, is fut. in force. See G. 223. — *φίλλας* (sc. *οὐσης*): pred. adj. (G. 138. Rem.). — *ὅστις ἀπάξει*: purpose (G. 236). — *μηδέ, ποί εὐεν* (G. 283, 2). — *συντάττεσθαι, ἀγοράζεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθαι*: the three uses of the mid. voice (G. 199, 1, 2, 3). — *τὴν ταχίστην*: adv. acc. (G. 160, 2). — *προκαταληφόμενος*: sc. *ἀνδρας*. The part. expresses purpose (G. 277, 3). — *τὰ ἄκρα*, i. e. of Mt. Taurus, the pass by which they had entered Cilicia. — *ὅπως φθάσωσι*: purpose (G. 216). Note the three ways in which purpose has been expressed in this section. — *ὅπως . . . καταλαβόντες, might not seize them first* (G. 279, 4). — *ων* (the antec. is *οἱ Κῶϊκες*) is a part. gen. with *πολλούς*, but a poss. gen. with *χρήματα* (G. 167, 1 and 6). — *πολλοὶς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα, many men* (as captives) *and much property*. — *ἔχομεν ἀνηπακότες = ἀνηπακάμεν καὶ ἔχομεν*: notice the sudden change to direct discourse. — *τοσοῦτον*, *so much* only (as follows). This refusal to take the lead would embarrass them still more.

15. *ὡς μὲν . . . λέγεται, let no one speak of me as likely to be general on this occasion*; the part. with *ὡς* after *λέγεται* on the analogy of the constr. explained in G. 280. See also *Moods and Tenses*, § 113, κ. 10, (c). — *στρατηγίαν*: cogn. acc. (G. 159). — *μηδέεις*: prohibition (G. 254). — *ἐν-ὧ, see in the undertaking*. — *ποιητέον*: sc. *ἐστί* (G. 281). Since *τοῦτο* is in the neut. sing. the construction may be regarded either pers. or impers. at pleasure. — *ὡς πέσομαι*: sc. *οὕτω λέγετε* from the preceding *μηδέεις λέγεται*. — *ὅν ἂν ἐλησθε* (G. 232, 3), *quemcumque elegeritis*. We might have had *ῶ ἂν* (G. 153), for which there is slight MS. authority. — *ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα, to the best of my ability*; *μάλιστα* belonging to *πέσομαι*, and *ἡ*, as (G. 87, 2), to *ἐστί* understood with *δυνατόν*. Cf. *ὡς μάλιστα, ὡς τάχιστα*, and note on *ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον*, i. 1. 6. — *ἵνα εἰδῇτε*: purpose (G. 216). — *ὅτι καὶ . . . ἀνθρώπων, that I know how also to submit to authority as well as any other man that lives*; *μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, in the highest degree (best of all men*, G. 168), belongs to *ἐπίσταμαι*, and is really superfluous to the sense after *ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος*, (as well) as *any other man whatsoever* (kal being emphatic). For the latter, *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος* is more common (see i. 4. 15).

16. *εὐήθειαν*: from *εὐήθης, simple-minded*, from *εὖ* and *ἥθος*. Note the suffix (G. 129, 7). — *ὥσπερ . . . ποιοιμένον, just as (we might ask for them*, G. 277, κ. 3), *if Cyrus should make his expedition back again*, i. e. should give up his plans and return home, so as not to need the boats longer. *Κύρου ποιομένου = εἰ Κύρος ποιοίτο*. — *ὡς εὐήθεις εἶη, that it was silly* (G. 243), corresponding to *τὴν εὐήθειαν* in the clause with *μὲν*. In the dependent clause *ῶ λυμαινόμεθα* there is a change to direct discourse (otherwise we should have *λυμαίνονται* or *λυμαίνοντι*, G. 247), which continues to the close of the speech in § 19. — *παρὰ τοῦτον*: in the place of the simple *τοῦτον*. (Cf. the const. with *αἰτεῖν* in § 14). — *ῶ*: dat. of dis-

advantage (G. 184, 3). — **πράξει**, i. e. **πραγ-σις** (G. 129, 3), i. e. *plan of operations*.

Page 12. — **εἰ πιστεύσομεν** (G. 221, N.), *if we propose to trust*; not equivalent to **ἐὰν πιστεύσωμεν**, *if we shall trust*. — **τί καλύει . . . προκαταλαμβάναν** (ironical): the order is **τί καλύει** (sc. **ἡμᾶς**) **καὶ κελεύειν Κ. προκ. τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν**; The meaning is, that if they propose to trust Cyrus's guide, they might as well show still greater confidence in Cyrus himself, and tell him to secure the heights for them!

17. **ἐγώ**: emphatic. — **γάρ**: the sect. states the grounds for the distrust of Cyrus which the speaker would entertain under the conditions supposed. — **ἂν δοίη**: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 4); so also **ῥ** (G. 153) **δοίη**, following. — **μὴ καταδύση**: obj. clause after a verb of *fearing* (G. 218); so **μὴ ἀγάγη**, following. — **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι**, *triremes and all* (G. 188, 5). The *trireme* (**τρίς**, **ἄρῳ**; Lat. *tri-rēmis*) was a war-vessel with three banks of oars. It is hardly possible that the **πλοῖα**, *transports* for troops, here mentioned, can be soberly called *triremes*; it is probable that **αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι** is added to **καταδύση** to heighten the absurdity, — “*fleet and all*,” as we sometimes say “horse, foot, and dragons” or “bag and baggage.” There is, however, some MS. authority for omitting **αὐταῖς**, in which case **ταῖς τριήρεσι** will mean *by his own triremes*. — **φοβομένην**: a stronger word than **δυνέω**, used to indicate a climax of feeling. — **ἔθεν**, i. e. **ἐκείσε ἔθεν**, *to the place from which*. — **οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται**, *it will not be possible* (G. 151, N. 4<sup>2</sup>). The antecedent of **ἔθεν** is obviously definite (note the neg., G. 230). If he had wished to speak less vividly he would have said, **ἔθεν οὐκ ἂν οἷόν τε εἴη**. — **ἀπῶν** = **ἐκ ἀπώμι** (G. 277, 4). — **ἀκοντος Κύρου**, sc. **ὄντος**: the adjs. **ἐκόν** and **ἀκων** are often used in this way without **ὄν**, as if themselves participles. — **λαθεῖν . . . ἀπελθών**, *to get off without his knowing it* (G. 279, 4).

18. **ἄνδρας**: subj. of **ἑρωτᾶν**. The whole sentence from **ἄνδρας** to the end of § 19 (except the parenth. **οὕτω . . . ἀπείομεν**) is the subj. of **δοκεῖ**. — **οἷτινες**, *such as are* (sc. **εἰσι**). — **τί . . . χρῆσθαι**, *what* (G. 149, 2<sup>2</sup>) *use he wishes to make of us* (G. 188, 1, N. 2, entire). The same use of the cases in **οἷανπερ** (for **οἷανπερ** by assimilation, G. 153) . . . **τοῖς ξένοις**. — **πρόσθεν**: for the time referred to, cf. i. 1. 2.

19. **τῆς πρόσθεν**, *than the former one*, sc. **πράξεως** (G. 175, 1). — **ἐὰν φαίνηται, ἄξιόν**: note the not infrequent use of the inf. in a future sense as the apod. of this class of cond. sentence (G. 223). A case just precedes in § 18 in **ἐὰν ᾗ, ἔκπεσθαι**, and another follows in **δ τι δ' ἂν λέγη ἀναγγεῖλαι** (G. 232, 3). — **ἄξιόν**, *demand*, i. e. the deputies (**ἄνδρας**) mentioned in § 18. **ἀναγγεῖλαι** has the same subj.; but **βουλευέσθαι** has **ἡμᾶς** expressed. — **πέσαντα**: e. g. by means of greater pay. Cf. § 21. — **πρὸς φιλίαν**, *in friendship*. — **ἐπόμενοι, ἀπώντες**: these might be respectively **ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλοις**, **ἐκ ἀπώμι** (G. 277, 4). — **φίλοι, πρόθυμοι**: pred. adjs. Give the der. of **πρό-θυμος**. — **πρὸς ταῦτα**, *with respect to this* (G. 191, VI. 6, 3 c).

20. **ἔδοξε ταῦτα**, *this was approved*. The ordinary beginning of an Athenian decree was **ταῦτα ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ**, i. e. *be it enacted by the*

*Senate and the People.* — ἡρώτων τὰ βέβητα, *made the inquiries agreed upon* (i. e. ἀ βέβηεν). For the dat. with δοκέω in this sense (*to seem good or best*), see G. 184, 2. — ὅτι ἀκούα : he said *ἀκούω*, *I have heard*, etc. The Greek, like other languages, often uses the pres. of such verbs as *I hear, I learn, I say*, even when their action is strictly finished (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, N. 5). — ἐχθρόν ἄνδρα : note the difference between ἐχθρός and πολέμιος (see note on § 12, above). — εἶναι, *was*, as a matter of hearsay, while ὄντα would have implied more responsibility for the fact on the part of the speaker (G. 280, with N. 3). — ἀπέχοντα . . . σταθμούς, *twelve stages off or distant* (ἀπέχοντα with Ἀβροκόμαρ, G. 276, 1). — πρὸς τοῦτον, *to him*, with an implied sense of *against*, which would be expressed properly by ἐπὶ. — χρῆζαν ἐπιθεῖναι : give the dir. form. — ἡμῖς ἐκεῖ, κ. τ. λ. : the quot. here becomes direct. It should be noted with what remarkable ease the Greek, contrary to the Eng. idiom, allows this transition from the indirect to the direct form. Cf. § 16.

21. αἰρετοί : verbal from αἰρέω (G. 117, 3). — τοῖς δὲ . . . ἦν, *but they had*, etc. (G. 143, 1, N. 2; 184, 4). — ὑποψία : the suff. expresses action (cf. G. 129, 3). — ὅτι ἀγα : quoted without change of mood after τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία ἦν = ἐπάπτευν δὲ. But below, after ἤκουσεν, with change of mood, ὅτι ἀγοι (G. 243). — πρὸς βασιλέα : as πρὸς τοῦτον in § 20. — ἔδοκα : why ἔδοκα here, but ἔδοξε (aor.) in § 20? — προσαιτούσι μισθόν, *ask additional* (πρὸς) *pay*. — ἡμι-όλιον : der. ? — δάσαν : note the tense (G. 203, N. 2). — οὐ, i. e. τοῦτον οὐ, *than that which*, οὐ for ὅ by attraction : cf. § in § 17 and οὕτως in § 18. The gen. goes with ἡμιόλιον, which has the force of a comparative, *a half more* (G. 175, 1, N. 1). — δαρακοῖ : see note on i. 7. 18. — τοῦ μηνός, *each month* (G. 179, 1). — ἐν τῷ φανερῷ = φανερός (G. 139, 2). This implies that there was a secret understanding of the real facts on the part of some. The soldiers accuse the generals of this in i. 4. 12. — By the expedient here described Cyrus led the Greeks nineteen stages farther inland (in place of the twelve proposed in § 20) before announcing publicly his real purpose.

#### CHAPTER IV.

**SYNOPSIS:** Cyrus proceeds to the river Psarus, thence to the river Pyramus, and finally reaches Issi upon the sea-coast, the last city in Cilicia (1). Here he remains three days, during which time his fleet arrives. He is also joined by the Greek mercenaries who desert from Abrocōmas (2, 3). Hence he proceeds to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. Abrocōmas does not attempt to bar his passage, but retreats towards Babylon (4, 5). Cyrus advances through Syria, and is deserted at Myriandrus by Xenias and Pasion. It is rumored that he will pursue them (6, 7); but calling his Greek generals together, he announces that he shall not do so. This decision pleases the Greeks, and they accompany him with greater alacrity (8, 9). He crosses the Psarus and reaches the sources of the Dardas, where he burns the palace of the Syrian governor (9, 10). At Thapsacus on the Euphrates he announces the real object of his expedition (11).



The troops refuse to go on without extra pay (12), which Cyrus agrees to give them. Menon, in the mean time, urges his troops to cross the Euphrates before the others decide, and so win the favor of Cyrus by seeming most forward in his service (13-15). They comply, and Cyrus expresses his satisfaction (16). He then crosses the Euphrates with the rest of his troops, and proceeds to the Araxes, where he remains three days (17-19).

Page 13. — 1. It is now the last of spring, and the army has been on the march four months. The distance from Sardis thus far travelled is 222 parasangs. Review on the map the route travelled up to Tarsi. — **στάδιον**: the common Greek standard of length, equal to 606½ Eng. feet, somewhat less than a furlong. This was the length of the **στάδιον**, or course for foot-races, at Olympia, which measured exactly 600 Greek feet. The noun is *heterogeneous* (G. 60, 2): cf. **στάδιοι** in § 4. — **ισχάτην**: without the art., where we should use it. Cf. i. 2. 10. — **ἐπὶ . . . οἰκουμένην**, *situated* (lit. *being inhabited*) *close upon the sea*.

2. **Κύρῳ**: for the case cf. **αὐτῷ** in i. 2. 4, and note. The fleet is the one already mentioned in i. 2. 21. — **ἐπ' αὐταῖς**, *over them*, but below in § 3 **ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν** (*ἐπὶ* with the gen.), *on board the ships*. — **ναύ-αρχος**, *admiral* (for **ναυ-** see G. 131, 1, N.). — **ἡγείτο δ' αὐταῖς**, *conducted them* (G. 171, 3, N.). — **ἐτέρως**, *besides*. So often **ἄλλως**. — **ἐπολιόρκει**, *had been besieging*; so **συνεπολιόρκει**: the subj. of both of these verbs is a pronoun referring to Tamos. Cf. for the tense **ἐτύγγανεν**, i. 1. 8. — **ὅτε ἦν**, *since it had been* (G. 250). — **αὐτόν**, i. e. Tissaphernes.

3. **μετάπεμπτος**, *sent for* (G. 117, 3), equal to **μεταπεμφθείς**, and so followed by **ὑπὸ Κύρου** (G. 197, 1). Chiriso-phus was sent with these troops from Sparta in return for the aid rendered the Lacedaemonians by Cyrus during the Peloponnesian War. He became in the retreat senior commander. — **ὧν . . . Κύρου**, *the command of whom he (now) held under Cyrus*. — **ἄρμουν**, *lay at anchor*, from **ἄρμος**, *a roadstead*. The quarters of Cyrus, it would appear, were pitched close upon the sea. — **οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα**: cf. **τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως** in i. 1. 5, and note. For the gen. **Ἀβροκόμα**, see G. 39, 3. This Doric gen. in Attic is found chiefly in foreign proper names. — **μισθο-φόροι**: give its der. (G. 131, 1).

4. **πύλας**: the article omitted, the noun being used almost as a proper name. The pass itself is here meant. — **ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα**, *and these (gates) consisted of*: **ταῦτα** for **αὐταῖς** because of **τείχη**, and **ἦσαν** for **ἦν** (G. 135, 2) because the *two* walls were in the writer's mind. — **τὸ . . . τὸ πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας**: position of the attrib. phrase (G. 142, 2). After **ἔσθθεν**, sc. **τείχος**. — **εἶχε**: not, of course, in person. — **διὰ μέσου τούτων**: cf. **διὰ μέσου τῆς πόλεως**, i. 2. 23, and note. — **ἅπαν τὸ μέσον**, *the entire distance between*. — **ταχῶν**: poss. gen. (G. 167, 1). — **ἦσαν** agrees with **στάδιοι** (G. 135, N. 4). — **καθήκοντα**: to be connected with **ἦν**, **ἦν καθήκοντα** being equivalent to **καθήκει**. — **ὑπερθεν**, i. e. *overhanging* the pass. — **ἐφειστήκεισαν πύλαι**, *gates had been set* in each wall. Here **πύλαι** has its proper meaning of *gates*, large and double like those in a city wall.

5. *ἔνεκα*, on account of (G. 191, I. 5). Commonly placed after the word it governs, or one of the modifiers of that word (as here). — ἀπεβίβασαι, παρελθεῖν: change of subj. Diff. between βιβάω and βάλω! — εἰσω καὶ ἔξω, i. e. on both sides of the Syrian wall, that he might attack A. both in front and rear. The distance between the two walls was over a third of a mile (three stades). — εἰ φυλάττουεν: if the preceding optatives were subjunctives (G. 216, 2) this clause might be εἰν φυλάττουσιν.

Page 14. — *ὅτι*, just the thing which, referring to the clause just preceding. — *ἔχοντα*, since he had (G. 277, 2). — *ὄντα*: quoted (G. 280). Cf. ἀκούει εἶναι in i. 3. 20, and note. — *ὡς* ὁλέγετο: probably personal, as he was said. Cf. i. 2. 8, note. — *μυριάδας*: Eng. der.!

6. ἐμπορίον, mart, Lat. and Eng. emporium, from ἐμπορος (πέραν, πέρα, cf. πορεύω), a traveller, merchant, distinguished from the κάπηλος (cf. τὰ καπηλεία, i. 2. 24) by his importing goods in person. — ἦν: we might have had ἔστί. Cf. ἀβροῖζοντα in i. 1. 2, and note. — τὸ χαρπὸν: the subject; the predicate noun (here ἐμπορίον) generally omits the article. — αὐτόθι: formed with the suff. *θι* (G. 61). — ὀλέας is (properly) a ship that is towed (ὀλω), merchantman.

7. Μεγαροῖς: a gentile noun (see G. 129, 10). — τὰ . . . ἐνθήμενοι, putting on board (G. 199, 3) their most valuable effects. — *ὡς* μὲν, κ. τ. λ.: the correlative clause with *δέ* is omitted; but μὲν implies that there was another opinion in the camp. — ἰδόκουν: personal; cf. note on *δοκεῖ*, i. 3. 11. — φιλοτιμηθέντες, since they were jealous (G. 277, 2): *ὅτι* . . . εἰα Κῆρος is also causal (G. 250). — ἀπελθόντας: see i. 3. 7. — *ὡς* ἀπύοντας: purpose (G. 277, 3; 200, x. 3 b). Cf. *ὡς* ἀποκτενῶν, i. 1. 3. — καὶ οὐ: sc. *ὶόντας* from the preceding ἀπύοντας. — διήλθε λόγος, a report went abroad. — *ὅτι* διώκοι: quoted (G. 243). — *τρίηρεσι*: the means (G. 188, 1). — *ὡς* δαλοὺς . . . ληφθῆναι, that they might be captured, because (in the opinion of οἱ μὲν, G. 277, x. 2) they were cowards. — εἰ ἀλάσσονται: fut. of ἀλίσκομαι. For the mood, G. 226, 4, x. 1; 248, 2. For εἰ ἀλάσσονται of the direct form, see G. 223, x. 1. Cyrus had already shown how severe he could be. Cf. i. 2. 20. A striking general instance of this is given in i. 9. 13.

8. ἀλλ' . . . ἐπιστάσθωσαν, but, however, let them well (emphasized by γὰρ) know. — ἀποδεδράκασιν, ἀποπεφύγασιν: the first means to escape by stealth, like a runaway slave; the second, to escape by rapid flight, so as not to be caught. The clauses that follow make this distinction clear. — *ὅθι* οἰχονται, in what direction (G. 87, 2) they are gone (G. 200, x. 3). — *τρίηρεις*, πλοίων: cf. note on i. 3. 17. — *ὥστε* εἶλιν: result (G. 266, 1). — *μὴ* τοὺς θεοὺς: note that the oath is neg. (G. 163). — *οὐδ'* . . . οὐδαίς: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). — *ὥς* ἂν παρῇ τις, as long as any one stays by me, general suppos. in pres. time (G. 233). So ἐπαδὲν βούληται. — αὐτοὺς: pl. though referring to τις. Cf. πάντας, i. 1. 5, and note. — *κακῶς* ποιῶ, maltreat (G. 165, x. 14). — *περὶ*, in respect to, to. — *φρουρούμενα*, guarded, i. e. under the protection of the resident garrison. Though the modifier of both τέκνα and γυναῖκες, φρουρούμενα is neut., since these are looked upon as articles of property. For Tralles, see the map, Lydia. — *τούτων* στερήσονται:

the passive (G. 197, 1) of the const. explained in G. 164, N. 2. — By this unlooked-for clemency Cyrus got the good-will of the Greeks (cf. what immediately follows) and lost little; for though the generals deserted, their troops remained, numbering some 5000 or 6000.

9. εἰ τις . . . ἀνάβασιν, if (there was) any one (who) was even somewhat discouraged in regard to the expedition. — τὴν ἀρετὴν, the magnanimity.

Page 15. — μετὰ ταῦτα: mark the asyndeton. — ὄντα, which was (G. 276, 1). — πλῆθρον: pred. gen. of measure (G. 169, 3) after ὄντα modifying ποταμόν, τὸ εἶρος being an acc. of spec. (G. 160, 1); but below in § 10 τὸ εἶρος is the subj. of ἦν understood, πλῆθρον having the same const. that it has here. For still another const., see i. 2. 5. — πρᾶϊον, tame (G. 70, N. 2). — ἐνόμιζον, εἶον: cf. ἦν in § 6, and the note. For the two accs. after ἐνόμιζον, see G. 166. — ἀδικεῖν: sc. τινὰ as subj. — Παρυσάτιδος . . . δεδομένα, belonged to Parysatis (G. 169, 1), having been given her for girdle-money (cf. οὐρ "pin-money").

10. Δάρδατος: the Dardas. See the map. Cyrus now gets into the valley of the Euphrates, but does not cross this river until eight days later at Thapsacus. — ἦσαν: cf. for the number, i. 2. 23, and note. — ἄρξαντος: note the tense. Belshys had probably fled on the approach of Cyrus, who in consequence treated the country as that of an enemy. — αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, cut it off; ἐκ-κόπτω means lit. to cut trees out of a wood. — κατέκαυσεν: κατα-καίω, to burn down (or, as we sometimes say, to burn up); but ἀνακαίω, to kindle (kindle up), with reference to the direction of the flames.

11. Cyrus now openly declares the real object of the expedition, which must have already been apparent to the Greeks for some time. Cf. i. 3. 20, and i. 4. 5. They had continued on, however, intending at the Euphrates to demand higher pay (§ 12), which Cyrus now agrees (§ 13) to give them. — εἴ τι ἔσονται: note the tense and give the dir. form (G. 243). — εἰς βαβυλῶνα: not at Babylon, but connect with ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσονται directly.

12. ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν: cf. συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν in i. 3. 2. — ἐχάλεπαινον: a denom. verb in αἰνῶ (G. 130, 7) from χαλεπός. This anger of the soldiers was, doubtless, more or less feigned, to force from Cyrus the greater pay. — στρατηγοῖς: case (G. 184, 2). — αὐτοῖς . . . κρύπτειν: what they said (speaking of them) was πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτουσι (G. 200, N. 4), though they have known (G. 277, 5) this for a long time, they have been keeping it secret (G. 246); or, if they addressed them directly, which is more spirited, πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότες κρύπτετε. Eng. der. from κρύπτω! — οὐκ ἔφασαν λῆναι: cf. the same phrase i. 3. 1, and note. — τις: Cyrus, of course. — χρήματα: it was not an increase of their regular pay (μισθός) that they demanded, but a bounty. — ὥσπερ: sc. ἔδωκε, as he had given it. — πρότεροις: pred. to ἀναβᾶσι (G. 138, 7); the verbal form would be οἱ ἀνέβησαν πρότεροι. Cf. πρότερα, i. 2. 25. The reference is to the 300 Greeks who accompanied Cyrus to Babylon at the time of his father's death. — καὶ ταῦτα, and that too, sc. ἐποίησε. — λόντων: sc. ἐκείνων, referring to the οἱ ἀναβάντες. The part. λόντων is concessive (G. 277, 5), but καλοῦντος causal (G. 277, 2); the latter is opposed to ἐπὶ μάχην, not to λόντων.

13. *ἐπέσχετο δάσιν*: he might have used *δοῖναι* or *διδόναι* (G. 203, N. 2). — *πέντε μνᾶς*: about \$90.00. The *μνᾶ* of 100 drachmas was  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a talent; the latter was a weight of silver which at the present day would be worth about \$1080. — *ἀργυρίου*: genitive of material (G. 167, 4). — *ἐπὶν ἤκουσι*: cond. rel. clause (G. 232, 3). So *μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ* (G. 239, 2). — *τὸν μισθόν*: a daric and a half a month (i. 3. 21). — *ἐντελής*: predicate adj. The der. of *ἐν-τελής*? — *τὸ πολὺ*, *the greater part* (G. 142, 2, N. 3b). — *πρὶν εἶναι*, *before it was* (G. 274). This const. occurs again in § 14 (in exactly the words used here) and in § 16. — *πότερον . . . ἤ*: double indir. quest. (G. 282, 5). — *οὐ*: accented at the end of the sentence (G. 29, N. 1). The meaning of the word *proclitic*? — *τῶν ἄλλων*: case (G. 182, 2). — Give the dir. form of all the quoted sentences in this and the preceding section.

Page 16. — 14. *πασθῆτε*: the aor. mid. of this verb is not used, but the aor. pass. has the sense of the mid., *obey*. — *ὅτε . . . πονήσαντες*, *without either toil or danger* (G. 277, 2). — *τῶν ἄλλων*: with *στρατιωτῶν*, *the rest of the soldiers* (G. 142, 2, N. 3). The gen. is in a sort of double const., first with *πλέον* (G. 176, 1), and then with *προ-τιμήσεσθε* (G. 177). The object is to emphasize the great advantage over the rest to be gained by following his advice. *προτιμήσεσθε* is a mid. with pass. force. — *τοῖς Ἑλλησιν*: subj. of *ἐπισθαι*, which in turn is the obj. of *δεῖναι*.

15. *ψηφίσονται*, *to vote*, properly by depositing the white or black pebble (*ψήφος*) in the urn, but in fact of much broader application: *ψήφος*, *a worn stone, pebble*, from *ψάω*, *to rub*. — *ἡμεῖς . . . διαβαίναν*, *you (emphatic) will have credit of being the cause of it, since you were the first to cross* (G. 262, 2; 171, 1). — *ἐμὴν . . . ἀποδόσσε*: *χάριν οἶδα* (fut. *εἰσομαι*) is the Lat. *gratiam habeo*, *χάριν ἀποδίδωμι* is *gratiam refero*. Transl. *Cyrus will feel his obligation to you and meet it*. — *ἐπιστάται*: sc. *χάριν ἀποδίδωμαι*. — *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος*: cf. the clause at the end of i. 3. 15. — *ἀπο-ψηφίσονται*, *vote "No."* — *τοῦμπαλιν*, i. e. *τὸ ἐμπαλιν* (G. 11). — *ὥς . . . πειθόμενους* (G. 277, N. 2) *because (as he will feel) you alone carried out his wishes*. — *πιστοτάτους χρήσεται*, *will treat you as most trustworthy*: see note on *τῶν πιστῶν*, i. 5. 15. — *λοχαγίας*: from *λοχ-αγός*, as *στρατηγία* from *στρατ-ηγός*. — *ἄλλου . . . δέησθε* (G. 232, 3), *whatever else you may want*: *ἄλλου* (for *ἄλλο*) agrees with *οὕτως* by inverted assimilation (G. 153, N. 4); it may, however, be explained as a genitive after *τεύξεσθε* (G. 171, 1), although *τυγχάνω* generally takes the accus. when a gen. of the source is added (G. 176, 1), as *Κύρου* here.

16. *ἐπέθοντο, διέβησαν*: note the diff. in tense. — *διαβεβηκότες*, *that they had crossed* (G. 280). — *ἡσθήη*: see i. 2. 18. — *Γλοῦς, Glus*, son of the admiral Tamos, ii. 1. 3. — *Ἐγὼ μὲν . . . μελήσει*: note the frequent expression of the pers. pron. in this section to emphasize the contrast. — *ὅπως ἐπαινέσετε*: this obj. clause (G. 217) is in fact here a gen. (G. 171, 2, N. 2).

17. *εὐτυχῆσαι*: from *εὐ-τυχής*, *fortunate* (G. 130, 2). — *ἐλέγετο πέμψαι*, *he was said to have sent*, personal construction. — *μεγαλοπρεπῶς*, *with great liberality*, from *μεγαλο-πρεπής* (G. 74, 1; 131, 1). — *τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἄπαν*: the order of crossing was: Menon's force, Cyrus and the barbarians,

and then the rest of the Greek army. — ἀνστήρω: the comp. of the adverb ἄνω (G. 75, N. 1). — τῶν μαστῶν: μαστός is one of the breasts, στήθον (i. 8. 26) the breast, chest.

18. οἱ δὲ . . . πλοῖοις: what the inhabitants of Thapsacus said, supplying the ellipses necessary to the const., was οὐκ ἔστιν (οὐκ ἔστιν ποταμὸς διαβατὸς) οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς (διαβαίνει, G. 117, 3) ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτὸν (excepti noui, emphasizing οὐκ ἔστιν ποταμὸς), ἀλλὰ (διαβατὸς ἐγένετο) πλοῖοις (G. 188, 1). Note the change of νῦν to τότε in passing from dir. to indir. disc. In the same way the person of the quoted verbs is often changed. — ἀ τότε . . . διαβῆ: a statement added by the historian. — κατέκασεν: plup. in force. — ἔνα . . . διαβῆ: note the mood (G. 216, 2). — ἐδόκα δὲ . . . βασιλεύσονται, it appeared accordingly that it (i. e. the lowness of the river) was a divine intervention (G. 139, 1), and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus, because (he was) about to be king. The sentiment rather of the truculent Thapsacēni than of the historian.

19. ἐπεσπίνοντο: because they were about to cross the desert of Arabia. See the map.

#### CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The march is continued through the desert of Arabia along the northern bank of the Euphrates (1). The horsemen hunt the wild animals in which the plain abounds (2, 3). The deserted city Corsōta on the river Mascus is reached (4). Thence Cyrus marches thirteen days through the desert, and many of the beasts of burden perish from hunger (5). Grain failing, the soldiers live upon flesh (6). Once during this time the wagons are stuck in the mud, and the Persian nobles assist the barbarians in getting them out (7, 8). Cyrus marches with the greatest speed possible, hoping to find the King unprepared (9). The soldiers cross the Euphrates, on rafts made of skins, to Charmande, where they purchase food and wine (10). Here a dispute arises between the troops of Clearchus and Menon, and Clearchus narrowly escapes being killed (11–14). Cyrus comes up and succeeds in quelling the disturbance (15–17).

Page 17. — 1. τῆς Ἀραβίας: occupied by roving tribes of Arabs called by Strabo Ἀραβες Σκηνίται (from σκηνή). See map. — ἔχων, with (G. 277, 6). — ἐρήμους, desert. Eng. der.? — τόπων, region. — ἦν μὲν . . . θάλαττα, the ground was wholly a level plain, just like the sea: ἅπαν to be construed with πεδῖον, where we should expect rather ἅπαντα modifying γῆ. Cf. iv. 4. 1. — ἀψυνθίου: cf. Tristia per vascos horrent absinthia campos. Ovid. Pont., iii. 1. 23. — ἅπαντα: plur., though the preceding τὸ is sing., if there was anything else, etc., they were all, etc. Cf. ὅστις . . . πάντας, i. 1. 5. — δένδρον . . . ἐνὶν, but there was no tree (emphatic) in it.

2. πλείστοι, very many. — ὄνοι ἄγριοι: Crosby cites Job xxxix. 5–8. — στρουθοί: the στρουθός was properly a small bird of the sparrow kind, but ὁ μέγας στρουθός, the ostrich. (Note the der. of the Eng. word ostrich.) ἡ στρουθός also (fem.) was used without μεγάλη in the same sense. Cf. § 3, below. — ἐπεὶ δὲ, ἔτασαν (G. 124, 1): for the opt. see G. 233.

Βο ἐπεὶ πλησιάζουσιν, ἐποιοῦν. — ταύτόν: for τὸ αὐτό (G. 79, 2, κ., end). — καὶ οὐκ . . . διαδεχόμενοι, and it was impossible to capture them, unless the horsemen, taking their places at intervals, hunted (G. 225) them in succession (διαδεχόμενοι, sc. ἀλλήλους). — ἀλαφροί: sc. κρέασι.

3. πολὺ γὰρ . . . χρωμένη, for it withdrew to a great distance in its flight, using its feet in running (manner, G. 188, 1), and its wings (by) raising them like a sail. — ἂν (i. e. ἂν) ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι (G. 28, n. 1, end): general supposition in present time (G. 225). — ἦν resumes the narrative style.

4. πλεῖραιον: we might have had πλέθρον (cf. i. 2. 23). — ἐρήμη: not uninhabited as opposed to οἰκουμένη (i. 2. 6), but abandoned. — ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ (sc. ἑστὶ) has Κορσωτή as pred. nom., as if it were ὀνομάζεται δέ (Krüg.). For a different const. used to express the same thought, cf. i. 4. 11. — περιεφέρετο: the pass. of a verb made trans. (the simple ῥέει, to flow, is intrans.) by the prep. in comp., as in Eng., was flowed about. — κύκλῳ: manner (G. 188, 1). — ἐπισπένναντο: Corsôte thus appears to have been a depot of supplies in the midst of the desert.

5. Πύλας, i. e. τὰς Βαβυλωνίας, the pass into Babylonia, on the north of the Euphrates. See map. — ἐπὶ λιμοῦ, from hunger (G. 191, VI. 7, 1 c). — ἄλλο, besides. — οὐδὲ οὐδέν (G. 283, 9). — ὄνους ἀλέτας, mill-stones. From the ass, as a beast of burden, the term ὄνος came to have various derived meanings, as windlass in Her. vii. 36 (ὄνοις ξυλίνουσι), and here the upper mill-stone: ἀλέτας is a noun used adj., lit. grinders. — παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν: why the acc.?

Page 18. — 6. Λυδίᾳ: Cyrus the Great, after subduing the Lydians, forbade them, at the suggestion of Croesus himself (Her. i. 155), the use of arms, and required them to teach their sons the arts of music and selling at retail. So they became a race of hucksters. — καὶ πρίασθαι . . . σίγλων: expressed in full this would be καὶ πρίασθαι (τὸν σίτον) οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ . . . βαρβαρικῶ (πρίασθαι ἦν) τὴν καπλήν, κ. τ. λ. — ἀλεύρων: gen. of material (G. 167, 4). — τεττάρων σίγλων: gen. of price (G. 178). — δύναται, is worth, transitive. The siglus was worth in our money about 22½ cts. — Ἀπτικοῖς: in agreement with ὀβολοῖς, though modifying also ἡμωβόλιον. — ἐχάρα, held, lit. had room (χάραν) for. The choenix was about a quart, and this amount of meal or flour cost about 45 cents in the desert, or more than fifty times as much as it cost at Athens about this time. (See Boeckh's *Public Econ. of the Athen.*, Bk. I. § 15.) — κρέα . . . διεγίγνοντο, the soldiers subsisted therefore by eating (or simply on) flesh.

7. ἦν . . . οὓς, some of these marches, ἦν οὓς being a past form of the common ἔστιν of (G. 152, n. 2). In such irregular phrases the verb keeps a fixed form, without regard to the unexpressed subject. — οὓς: cogn. acc. (G. 159) to ἤλαυνεν. — μακροῖς: pred. adj. (G. 138, Rem.). — ὅποτε βούλοιο: cf. ἐπεὶ διώκοι in § 2, and note. — καὶ δὴ: adding a special fact, and once in particular. — ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορευτοῦ, hard (G. 131, 4 b) for the wagons (G. 184, 3) to get through. — στρατοῦ: part. gen. with a verb (G. 170, 1). — συν-εκ-βιάσαν, to aid in getting out. So two lines below συνεπισπένσαι, to aid (σύν) in hurrying on.

8. ὥσπερ ὀργῇ, *just as if* (sc. καλεῖν as protasis, G. 277, N. 3) *in anger* (manner, G. 188, 1). — θεάσασθαι: prop. *to look upon* (with interest or wonder), while ἰδέν is *to see* in general. — πορφύρους: from πορφύρα, *the purple fish, murex* (cf. G. 129, 14). — ἑντα, *sent themselves, rushed*. — ὥσπερ . . . νίκης, *just as one would run* (i. e. in a foot-race at the public games) *to get the victory*. περὶ νίκης implies the prot. (G. 226, 1), *if he should be running for* (περὶ, *about, concerning*, expressing the *aim*) *victory*. — καὶ . . . γηλόφου, *even* (modifying the entire phrase that follows) *down a very* (μάλα) *steep hill*. — ἔχοντες . . . ἀναξυρίδας, *having on both the costly tunics and colored trousers which they are in the habit of wearing*: τούτους marks the dress as one generally known. — ἔνιοι: see note on ἦν οὗς in § 7, and G. 152, N. 2. — εἰσ-πήδησαν εἰς: cf. ἐκ-βαλεῖν ἐκ, i. 2, 1, and note. — θάπτον ἢ . . . ᾤετο, *more quickly than* (omit ὥς, as, in Eng.) *one would have thought* (it possible, if he had not seen it). For ἂν ᾤετο (see οἶμαι) see G. 226, 2 b. — μεταίρους ἔκδομσαν, i. e. *lifted and carried out*.

9. τὸ σύνπαν, *upon the whole, in general* (G. 160, 2). — δῆλος . . . σπεύδων, *Cyrus himself* (ὥς) *showed that he was making haste* (G. 280, N. 1 and N. 4). — ὅδον: acc. of extent of space (G. 161). — ἀναγκαῖον: from ἀνάγκη (G. 129, 12). — ὅσῳ . . . τοσούτῳ, *quanto . . . tanto, the . . . the* (G. 188, 2). — ὅσῳ . . . μαχεῖσθαι: the thought of Cyrus was, in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν θάπτον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ . . . μαχοῦμαι (G. 247). — ἀπαρσκευοτέρη: pred. adj. — σχολαίτερον: comparative adv. (G. 75) formed as if from σχολῇ rather than σχολαῖος. See the lexicon. — συναγείρεσθαι: in the dir. form, ὅσῳ ἂν σχολαίτερον ἔλθω, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεται βασιλεὶ στρατεύμα, *the greater* (will be the) *army* (θαλ) *is now collecting for the King*, where συναγείρεται expresses an action in progress, but implies the *future* size of the army which is now collecting, and would, therefore, be a natural apod. to ὅσῳ ἂν ἔλθῃ (G. 232, 3; cf. 223). — καὶ συνιδεῖν . . . οὐσα, *but, further* (καὶ), *the attentive observer could see at a glance* (συν-ιδεῖν) *that the King's empire was strong in its extent of territory and number of inhabitants, etc.* συνιδεῖν is first introduced as subj. of ἦν, *it was possible to see*, and the natural constr. would have been τὴν ἀρχὴν λοχυράν οὐσαν. But after τὸν νοῦν the writer's point of view changes, and the rest of the sentence is constructed (by *anacoluthon*) as if for συνιδεῖν ἦν the nearly equivalent δῆλῃ ἦν had been used (G. 280, N. 1). — προσέχεν τὸν νοῦν, *animum advertere* or *animadvertere*. — πλήθε, both *extent* and *number*, takes the two gen. by *zeugma* (ζεύγμα, *joining*). — διεσπᾶσθαι: perf. — διὰ ταχύων, *with speed*, lit. *through quick* (measures). — εἰ . . . ἐποιεῖτο, i. e. in case of a vigorous attack.

Page 19. — 10. πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *across the river* (G. 182, 2), i. e. on its southern bank. — κατὰ, *over against, opposite*. — ἥρμους σταθμούς: see § 1 and § 5, above. — ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη: see note on § 4, above. — διφθέρας: Eng. der.? — σκεπάσματα, *as coverings* (G. 137, N. 4). — διφθέρας, χώρτον: double obj. (G. 172, 2). — συνίσπων: see συν-σπάω (G. 16, 5, N. 3). — ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι: result (G. 266, N. 1). — ἐς, ἀπ': the one *out of*, the other *off of* (G. 191, I. 2 and 3). — τοῦτο . . . πλείστον, *for this* (thing) *was very abundant in the country*, τοῦτο neuter, though referring to μέλινη.

11. ἀμφιλέξαντες τε, *having had some dispute*. — ἀδικεῖν . . . Μένωνος, *that Menon's soldier* (probably one of two who began the quarrel) *was in the wrong* (G. 260, 2). Note the perf. force of ἀδικεῖν, to be *δικος*, to have done wrong (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, 1, n. 4). — ἐνέβαλεν: probably on the spot, with his own staff, after the Spartan fashion. Cf. ii. 3. 11. — ἐχάλεπαινον . . . Κλεάρχῳ, *took it hard* (χαλεπός), and were exceedingly angry at Clearchus (G. 184, 2).

12. ἡμέρῃ: dat. of time (G. 189). — διάβασιν: a crossing, first the act (see G. 129, 3) and then, as here, the place. — τὴν ἀγοράν, *the marketing* (see § 10). — σὺν . . . αὐτῶν, *with few* (G. 138, Rem.) *about him*, lit. *with those about him (being) few*. — προσήλανε, διέλαύνοντα (G. 280): note the force of the prepositions in comp. — ἔησε τῇ ἄξινῃ, *hurled his aze at him*, lit. *sends* (at him, sc. αὐτοῦ, G. 171, 1) *with his aze* (G. 188, 1). — αὐτοῦ (G. 171, 1). — λίθῳ: sc. ἔησε.

13. καταφεύγε: diff. in meaning from ἀποφεύγω, i. 4. 8? — αὐτοῦ, *there*, i. e. where they were. — τὰς ἀσπίδας . . . θήκας: the left knee was slightly advanced, the shield set firmly in rest upon it, and the spear held in readiness for defence. Clearchus saw that he might be repulsed and obliged to fall back upon his heavy-armed troops. — τοὺς ἱππείας: not mentioned in i. 2. 9. — οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ = οὗς εἶχεν. — οἱ πλείστοι: sc. ἦσαν. — ἐκπεπλήχθαι, *were thoroughly frightened* (G. 202, 2, n. 2; 266, 1). — οἱ δέ, *but others*, as if τοὺς μὲν stood with τρέχαν, — ἵστασαν, *stood (still)*. See G. 124, 1. — τῷ πράγματι: cause (G. 188, 1).

14. ἔτυχε . . . προσιών, *happened to be coming on later* (G. 279, 4). — αὐτῷ (G. 186). — ἐπομένη: in the same construction as προσιών. ἔτυχε . . . ἐπιλυτῶν is parenthetical, and οὖν resumes the narration. — εἰς τὸ μέσον, *between*. — ἄγων: sc. τὴν τάξιν.

Page 20. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, *halted under arms*. τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα literally means to ground arms, i. e. to stand with the spear and shield resting on the ground. But it sometimes means to take up any military position or simply to appear under arms (properly in military line), where the original meaning disappears. In § 17, below, κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα means *they moved back to their former places*, i. e. to their quarters, where they had been before the quarrel. It is probable that τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα never means to stack or pile arms. — αὐτοῦ . . . καταλευσθήναι, *when he* (i. e. Clearchus) *had barely escaped*, lit. *had wanted little* (G. 172, 1) *of, being stoned to death*. — λέγει: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, n.). — αὐτοῦ refers to Clearchus; but the preceding use of αὐτοῦ is strange, and Krüger proposes to omit it. Others have αὐτοῦ here. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, *out from between (them)*.

15. ἐν τούτῳ, *during this time* (sc. τῷ χρόνῳ), *meanwhile*. — καὶ Κύρος, *Cyrus also*. — τῶν πιστῶν: part. gen. (G. 168). The trusty counsellors or attendants of a Persian prince were called οἱ πιστοί. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the twelve elders who form the chorus say of themselves (vs. 1) τάδε . . . Πιστὰ καλεῖται (for καλούμεθα Πιστοί).

16. Πρόξενον: Proxenus now seemed more prominent than Menon. — κατακυκλώσθαι, *shall be instantly cut to pieces* (G. 200, n. 9). — κακῶς . . .



ἔχοντων = ἔδν τὰ ἡμέτερα κακῶς ἔχη (G. 226, 1). — τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ δυν-  
των, i. e. ἡ οἱ παρὰ βασιλεῖ δυντες.

17. ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, *came to himself, recovered his senses*, Lat. *ad se rediit*. — παυσάμενοι : sc. τῆς μάχης. — κατὰ χάραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα : see note on § 14, above.

## CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: As the army advances, traces of the King's cavalry are observed. Orontas, a Persian nobleman, turns traitor to Cyrus and offers to go forward with a thousand horse and cut off the cavalry that is laying the country waste by fire, and to this Cyrus consents (1, 2). Orontas then writes to the King, saying that he shall desert to him with his command; but his messenger betrays him and carries the letter to Cyrus, who arrests the traitor and summons seven Persian noblemen and Clearchus to his tent to try him (3, 4). Clearchus afterwards relates how the trial was conducted (5). Cyrus, he says, stated how Orontas had on two previous occasions proved false to him, but had been again received into favor, and then asked the prisoner if he had since received any injury from him. Orontas acknowledged that Cyrus had never been unjust to him, and that he had no reason to expect further mercy (6-8). Cyrus then referred the case to those present, and Clearchus advised that the culprit should be put to death, in which opinion the others concurred. Orontas is led away to the tent of Artapâtes, and is never seen again (9-11).

1. Ἐντεύθεν : from opposite Charmande. See map. — προϊόντων (sc. αὐ-  
τῶν), *as they advanced*, but two lines below, προϊόντες, *keeping ahead* (of  
the army). — ἐφαίνετο; *there appeared continuously* (G. 135, 2, and N. 1).  
— ὡς . . . ἵππων, *of about 2000 horse* (G. 169, 1). — οὗτοι : to be referred  
to the ἱππεῖς implied in ἵππων. — εἰ τι ἄλλο, i. e. *whatever else* (cf. i. 5. 1).  
— γίνα : dat. of respect (G. 188, 1, N. 1). But for βασιλεῖ, see G. 184, 2.  
— τὰ πόλεμα λεγόμενος, *reckoned, in matters pertaining to war* (G. 160, 1).  
— Περσῶν : part. gen. (G. 168). — καὶ πρόσθεν, *previously also*. — πολυμή-  
σας, καταλλαγῆς δέ (G. 277, 6).

2. εἰ αὐτῷ δοίη, κ. τ. λ. : Orontas said, εἰ ἐμοὶ δοίης, ἢ κατακάνοιμι (see  
κατα-κάνω) ἂν ἢ θλοῖμι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 245). — ὅτι : in unusual pos.; we  
should expect rather ὅτι εἰ αὐτῷ, κ. τ. λ. — ἂν : to be taken also with each  
of the following opts. (G. 212, 4). — τοῦ κάαν ἐπιόντας, *from attacking*  
(ἐπιόντας modifying the subj. of κάαν) *and burning* (G. 263, 1). — ποιή-  
σειεν . . . δύνασθαι, *would cause that they should never be able, etc.* ὥστε  
would generally be omitted in this construction. — ταῦτα : subj. of ἔδοκε.

3. ἤξοι, δύνηται : change of mood in part (G. 247, N. 1). — ὡς ἂν δύνη-  
ται πλείστοις (G. 232, 3) might have been simply ὡς πλείστοις. See note  
on i. 1. 6. — ὑποδέχεσθαι : for the force of ὑπὸ in comp., cf. ὑπο-λαβέν,  
i. 1. 7. — ἐν-ἦν ἐν : cf. i. 2. 1, and i. 5. 8.

Page 21. — τῆς πρόσθεν : cf. i. 3. 19, and i. 4. 8. — ὁ δέ, *but he* (G. 143,  
1, N. 2).

4. ἑπτὰ, *seven of them*, added to restrict τοὺς ἀρίστους. — θέσθαι τὰ  
ὅπλα, *to stand under arms*. Cf. ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα in i. 5. 14, and note. —

τρισεχλούς: the great number of men detailed (one quarter of the entire Greek force) would seem to show apprehension on the part of Cyrus. Orontas was a man of influence, and doubtless had many friends among the barbarians. It should be noticed, however, that some of the seven Persians summoned to judge Orontas were his relatives (cf. οἱ συγγενεῖς in § 10).

5. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, *not only to him* (i. e. Cyrus) *but also to the rest* (i. e. of the Persians); that is, it was generally known that Clearchus was the most prominent man among the Greeks. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: part. gen. with μάλιστα (G. 168), the thought being strengthened by πρὸ in προτιμηθῆναι, *was honored before (the rest)*. — τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ἐγένετο: for ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο, *how the trial was conducted*. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων in i. 1. 5. — κρίσις (see G. 129, 3). — οὗ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν, i. e. ὡς ἡ κρίσις ἐγένετο. — τοῦ λόγου, *the conference* (G. 171, 1).

6. σὺν ἑμὶν βουλευόμενος, *taking counsel with you*. — ὅ τι . . . ἀνθρώπων, *whatever is just*, etc., rel. clause, summed up emphat. in τοῦτο. — πρὸς, *in the sight of* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1, α). — πρῶτον: subj., not fut. (G. 216, 2). — τοιούτου: with an emphatic gesture (G. 83, n. 2). — ἑμὸς: with the art. (G. 147). — εἶναι: purpose (G. 265). — ἐμοί: with ἐπὶ κρίσει (G. 165). — ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, *as he himself said* (G. 145, 1). In such cases αὐτός is always adj. (= ipse), never substantive; although in English we can often render it (as here) by an emphatic *he*. Cyrus discredits the statement. Cyrus, probably, in his capacity of military commander (κάρανος) of Western Asia Minor had put Orontas in charge of Sardis. When, therefore, Artaxerxes became King and Orontas renounced the authority of Cyrus, it was an easy matter for him to take forcible and absolute possession of the city. — καὶ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα, *and I brought it about*, dependent on ἐπεὶ, above. The principal clause begins at μετὰ ταῦτα in § 7. — αὐτόν: not the obj. of προσπολεμῶν, which takes the dat. Cyrus began to say, ἐγὼ αὐτόν (*him*, emphat. προσπολεμῶν (manner) ἐποίησα τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι (αὐτόν being subj. of παύσασθαι), but changed the constr. to an *anacoluthon* by inserting ὥστε δόξαι τοῦτο (on which see note on § 2). — δεξιὰν . . . ἔδωκα: among the Persians a pledge of especial solemnity.

7. μετὰ ταῦτα, *since that*, i. e. the pledge given and received. Notice the abrupt change of address from the council to Orontas. — ἔστιν . . . ἡδίκησα, *is* (G. 28, n. 1, end) *there any wrong which I have done you?* — οὐδ' (G. 29, n. 1); sc. ἔστι (or εἴη); or we may consider οὐδ' as a direct quotation, "No" (G. 241, 2, n.), like οὐδ' . . . δόξαμι, below, in § 8. — ἥρῳτα, *went on asking*, but the aor. ἥρῳτησεν in § 8 with reference to the single question, *asked*. — Οὐκοῦν: expecting an affirm. answer (G. 282, 2). The diff. between this word and οἶκουν? See the lexicon. — οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος (G. 277, 5): see note on τί ἀδικηθεὶς in § 8. For ἀδικούμενος see the note on ἀδικεῖν, i. 5. 11. — κακῶς ἐποίησιν (G. 165, n. 1). — ὅ τι ἔδυνάμ, *in what* (G. 160, 1) *you were able*. — ἔφη, *said* "Yes." — ἔγνωσ, *came to know, had ascertained, saw*. — μεταμέλει σοι: in the dir. form, μεταμέλει μοι (G. 184, 2, n. 1). — ὀμο-λογέω: der.?

8. ἀδικηθεὶς (G. 277, 2), though pass., has τί as cogn. accus. (G. 159;

197, 1, N. 2). So, below, οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, and οὐδὲν ἀδικούμενος in § 7. — ἐπιβουλεύων (G. 280, N. 1): cf. δῆλος ἦν ἀνιέμενος in i. 2. 11.

Page 22. — οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς: either a direct quotation, or an indirect quotation with ἐπιβουλεύων . . . γέγονε understood. — περὶ ἐμέ: cf. περὶ ἡμᾶς, περὶ ἐκείνους in i. 4. 8. — γεγενῆσθαι (G. 246). — Ὅτι γάρ, (I confess) *for in truth*, etc. — ἀν γένωιο (G. 226, 2 δ). — ἀδελφεῷ (G. 186). — ὅτι (G. 241, 2, N.).

9. πρὸς ταῦτα, *in view of this, thereupon*. — πρῶτος, *the first*: what would πρῶτον mean? — ἀπόφηναι: voice? Distinguish from ἀποφῆναι and ἀποφῆναι. — ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ: indir. quest. depending on the idea of *declare* in ἀπόφηναι γνώμην. — τοῦτον: expressed three times, contemptuously. — ἐκποδὼν ποιέσθαι, *to put out of the way*. — ὡς δέη, ἦ: final (G. 216). — ἡμῖν, i. e. to you and me, said arrogantly. Why dat.? — τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, *as far as this fellow is concerned* (G. 268, N.). — τοὺς . . . τούτους, *these (with a gesture) who are your friends of their own free will*, lit. *these your volunteer friends* (θελοτάς, noun, not θελοντας). — εὖ ποιεῖν: cf. κακῶς ἐποιεῖς in § 7.

10. ἔφη, i. e. Clearchus, when the trial was over. — λαβὼν . . . Ὀρόν-ταν, *took Orontas by the girdle* (G. 171, 1, N.). — ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, *as a sign that he was capitally condemned*, but, below, ἐπὶ θάνατον, with a verb of motion, to execution. — καί, *even*. — οἷς προσετάχθη, *to whom it was appointed*, sc. ἐξάγειν. — προσεκύνουν, προσεκύνησαν: why a change of tense? προσ-εκύνω in application to Orientals means *to prostrate one's self*. — καίπερ εἰδότες, *although they knew* (G. 277, N. 1 b). — ἄγουντο: why opt.?

11. σκηπτοῦχων: der.? Der. of σκῆπτρον? — οὕτε οὐδεὶς: emphatic neg. (G. 283, 9). So οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς, following. — ὅπως (how) ἀπέθανεν: perhaps he was buried alive; see Her. vii. 114, where the historian states that this was a Persian custom. — εἰδὼς, *from his own knowledge*. — ἄλλοι ἄλλως, *some in one way, others in another*.

## CHAPTER VII.

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus proceeds through Babylonia, and at the end of the third day's march reviews his troops (1). He receives information respecting the King's army, and assembles his Greek officers for consultation (2). He exhorts them to display their zeal in his service (3), describes the manner of a Persian onset, and promises to reward them magnificently in case of victory (4). Gaulites says there are doubts as to the sincerity of Cyrus and his ability to fulfil his promises (5), whereupon the latter reviews the extent of country he hopes to conquer and promises a crown to each Greek (6, 7). The Greeks are much encouraged by these assurances (8). Cyrus expresses a decided opinion that his brother will not refuse to engage with him (9). The Greeks and barbarians are numbered (10), and some account is given of the King's forces (11–13). Cyrus advances a day's march further, and at midday comes to a deep trench dug by the King, beyond which he succeeds in making his way (14–16). The King does not come to an engagement, and traces of his retreat are observed (17). Cyrus rewards the soothsayer Silānus (18), and, concluding that the King has given up the intention of fighting, proceeds with less caution (19, 20).

1. Ἐντέλειν: probably from near Pylae (i. 5. 5). See i. 6. 1, and note. — μέσας νύκτας, *midnight*, pl. with reference to the various watches (φυλακαί) into which the night was divided. — ἔδοξα, *he thought*. See lexicon, δοκέω. — εἰς . . . ἔω, *at daybreak* (G. 42, 2, n. 1); εἰς with reference to the time when the dawn shall have been reached (G. 191, III. 1, δ). — μαχούμενον: future (G. 277, 3). — κίρως: form and case! See G. 56, 2; 171, 3. — τοῦ εἰωνύμου, i. e. of the Greeks, who were next the river. Cyrus drew up (διέταξε, *disposuit*) his barbarian force (τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ) on the left of the entire Greek force.

2. ἡμέρα: case (G. 186). — αὐτό-μολοι: αὐτός and μολ-, *go*; cf. ἔμολον, 2 aorist of βλάσκει. See also G. 131, 1.

Page 23. — πῶς ἂν . . . ποιεῖτο, *how* (G. 282, 1) *he should make the fight*, i. e. if there should be one (G. 226, 2 b). — παρήγα . . . τοιάδε, *exhorted and encouraged them as follows* (G. 148, n. 1).

3. ἀνθρώπων: with ἀπορῶν (G. 172, 1), *not because in want of barbarians*. He adds ἀνθρώπων contemptuously to βαρβάρων, but calls the Greeks ἄνδρες. See note on § 4. — ἀμείνους καὶ κράτους, *braver and mightier* (der. from κράτος). — διὰ τοῦτο: takes up νομίζω, *because I thought*, . . . *on this account*. — προσ-λαβόν: force of the prep.! — ὅπως ἔσεσθε: sc. σκοπεῖσθε (G. 217, n. 4, ex.). — ἣς . . . ἣς, *which* (G. 153) *you possess* (see κτάομαι) *and on account of which* (G. 173, 1), etc. — ὥστε: see οἶδα — ἐλόμεν ἂν: prot. not expressed (G. 226, 2 δ. — ἀνθ' ὧν . . . πάντων, *in preference to all that* (G. 154, n.) *I have*. The Persian government was an absolute despotism, and regarded all in dependence upon the King as his slaves. In i. 9. 29, Cyrus is called the δοῦλος of Artaxerxes. — πολλαπλασίον: a multiplicative in πλάσιος, derived from πολύς. Cf. δι-πλάσιος, *twice* (δύς) *as many*, etc.

4. ὅπως . . . εἰδῆτε (see οἶδα): not object clause, as above (ὅπως ἔσεσθε), but final (G. 216, 1). — εἰς οἶον . . . ἀγῶνα, *into what sort of a struggle you are going*; indir. quest. (G. 282, 1). Cf. below, οἷους γνῶσεσθε ἀνθρώπους. — τὸ πλῆθος: sc. ἐστί. — ἐπίσιν (G. 200, n. 3 δ). — ταῦτα, i. e. their numbers and outcry. — τᾶλλα . . . ἀνθρώπους, *as to all else, I feel* (lit. *seem to myself to be*) *even ashamed* (when I think) *what sort of men* (ἀνθρώπους with emphasized contempt at the end of the sentence) *you will find those in our country are* (G. 280). — ἡμῖν is the ethical dat. (G. 184, 3, n. 6). — ἡμῶν δὲ . . . γενομένων, *but since you are* (G. 277, 2) *men* (emphatic), *and if you shall prove yourselves* (= ἐὰν γένησθε, G. 277, 4) *of good courage*. With ἀνδρῶν and ἀνθρώπους here cf. what Herod. (vii. 210) says of the Medes at Thermopylae, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώποι εἰεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. — ἡμῶν τὸν βουλόμενον, *whoever of you* (G. 168) *shall wish* (G. 276, 2). — τοῖς οἰκοῖ, *his friends at home* (masc.); but, just following, τῶν οἰκοῖ (neut.), *things at home*. τοῖς οἰκοῖ is a dative of the agent with the verbal ζηλωτός; this is the regular construction with the verbal in -τέος (G. 188, 3 and 4).

5. πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, *in the confidence of Cyrus*. It was probably at the direction of Cyrus that Gaulites spoke. — καὶ μὴν: lit. *and in truth*; free Eng., *but yet*. — διὰ . . . προσόντος, *on account of your being* (G. 262, 1)

at such (a critical point) of the danger that is approaching. *κινδύνου* limits *τοιούτου* (G. 168), but *προσόντος* is still causal (G. 277, 2), the thought being, *you promise, etc., because the danger is approaching.* — *ἀν εἰ γένηται* τι: a purposely vague ref. to his present undertaking. — *μενήσασθαι* (fut. perf.), serving as simple future to *μένειν* (G. 200, N. 6). — *ἔνοι δέ*: sc. *φασί*. — *οὐδ' εἰ . . . δύνασθαι* *ἀν* (G. 211), *not even if, etc., would you be able* (G. 246; 224). — *μεμνη*: formed without connecting-vowel (cf. G. 118, 1. N.), *μενη-μην, μενήμην, μενη-ιο, μεμνη*, etc. The common forms *μεμένην, μεμνή*, etc.

6. *ἔστι* (G. 28, N. 1, end) *πρὸς μεσημβρίαν*, *is (extends) towards the south.* *ἡμῖν* is a dat. of advantage (G. 184, 3). Derivation of *μεσημβρία*? — *μέχρι* *οὗ*, *to the point at which (down to where)*, neut. relative with prep. (G. 191, I. 5): in full *μέχρι τούτου τοῦ τόπου ἐν ᾧ*. — *τὰ . . . πάντα*, *but all between these (limits)*: cf. *τὰ μέσον τῶν ταχῶν* in i. 4. 4.

7. *τούτων*: with *ἐγκατεῖς* (G. 180, 1). — *μή οὐκ ἔχω* *δ* *τι* *δῶ* (indirect question, G. 244), *that I shall not* (G. 215, N. 1) *know* (lit. *shall not have*) *what to give*; the direct form for *δ* *τι* *δῶ* would be *τί δῶ*; *what shall I give?* (G. 256). So *οὐκ ἔχω* *δ* *τι* *εἶπω* (or *τί εἶπω*), *non habeo quod (or quid) dicam*. Here *οὐκ ἔχω* is nearly equivalent to *ἀπορώ*, *to be at a loss*, and the indirect question in *δ* *τι* *δῶ*, etc. is plain. But the analogy of the familiar expression *οὐκ ἔχω* *δ* *τι* *δῶ*, *I have nothing to give* (in which the interrogative and relative constructions are sometimes hard to distinguish), gave rise occasionally to the corresponding expression *ἔχω* *δ* *τι* *δῶ*, *I have something to give*, in which the relative character greatly preponderates; and here we have (below) *ἔχω* *ἱκανοὺς* *οἷς* *δῶ*, *I have enough to give to*, where the construction is purely relative. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 65, 1, N. 3 (a). — *ἀν εἰ γένηται* (sc. *τὰ πράγματα*). — *στέφανον*: not, of course, as a badge of sovereignty, but as a mark of distinguished military service, like the medals and crosses of to-day. A crown was often bestowed in this way as a reward of merit among the Greeks.

Page 24. — 8. *ἦσαν*, i. e. the generals and captains. Cf. § 2. — *οφείσιν*: indirect reflexive (G. 144, 2). — *ἐμπιπλὰς τὴν γνώμην*, *satisfying the mind*.

9. *παρεκλείοντο . . . τάττεσθαι*: had Cyrus followed this advice, the whole course of Persian history might have been changed. — *μάχεσθαι*, i. e. in person. — *ἐαυτῶν*: with *ὅπισθεν* (G. 182, 2). — *γάρ*: with ref. to an unexpressed statement: (all this advice is unnecessary) or (there is no real danger) *for do you think, Cyrus, etc.* We should say, *What! do you think, etc.* — *Νῆ Δία* (G. 163), *Yes, by Zeus (he will fight)*, sc. *μαχεῖται*. — *ἐμὸς ἀδελφός*, *a brother of mine*: *ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός* would be *my brother*. — *ταῖα*: with a gesture.

10. *ἐν τῇ ἑξοπλίᾳ*, *under arms*, in procinctu. — *ἐγένετο*, *was found to be*. — *ἑσπὶς . . . τετρακοσία*, 10,400 *shield*, just as we say "a thousand horse." — The sum total here given cannot be made to tally with the numbers previously given separately; and it is unsatisfactory to speculate on the causes of the discrepancy.

11. ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκοσι μυριάδες: probably overstated. Ctesias, the King's private physician (mentioned in i. 8. 26), gave the number as 400,000. — ἄλλοι, *besides*. Cf. i. 5. 5. — αὖ, *moreover*.

12. τοῦ: with στρατεύματος. — ἀρχοντας . . . ἡγεμόνες: notice καὶ before both the last two titles, while the proper names below have no conjunction. These are both common forms in Greek, while in English we generally use *and* only before the last noun in such a series. — μάχης: after ὑστέρησε (der. from ὑστερος) implying comparison (G. 175, 2). — ἡμέραις (G. 188, 2).

13. οἱ . . . βασιλέες, *those who had deserted from the ranks of* (lit. *out of*) *the enemy from (the side of) the great King*, etc. τῶν πολεμίων, at the end of the section, depends on οἱ (G. 168). The number of prepositional phrases in this short section is worthy of note. — ταῦτά: distinguish carefully from ταῦτα above.

14. συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι: the noun is a dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), and the part. expresses the attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). This force of the part. will be easily seen, if the idea of accompaniment is dropped and the gen. abs. is substituted, συντεταγμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος.

Page 25. — μέσον (G. 142, 4, n. 4). — τάφος: the word in itself signifies an *artificial* ditch (cf. θάπτω, τάφος), but this idea is emphasized by δορυκτῆ. — ὀργυαί: in apposition to τάφος, where we should expect rather ὀργυῶν (G. 167, 5). Cf. ποδῶν at the end of § 15. The ὀργυιά, the length of the outstretched arms (ὀρέγω, *to stretch out*), measured about a fathom (6 feet) and was equal to four πήχες.

15. παρτίτατο (G. 109, 6 and 4). — ἐπὶ, *upon, over, to the length of*. — τοῦ τείχους: see note on ii. 4. 12. The ditch was dug northward, obliquely (not at right angles, like the wall) to the Euphrates, which here runs about S. E. — διάρυχες: sc. εἰσὶ. Derivation of δι-ᾠρυξ? — ῥέουσai, *which flow* (G. 276, 1). — ῥέουσai, πλατ (G. 98, n. 1). — σιτ-αγωγά: derivation? See also G. 181, 1. — διαλείπουσι, *are distant* (from one another), lit. *leave an interval*. — ποταμοῦ, τάφρου (G. 182, 2). — Why the ditch had not been completed to the river is not stated. The most reasonable of the many conjectures that have been made with reference to this is, that Cyrus had surprised the King by his rapid marching, and that the latter had in consequence abandoned the work in alarm when almost completed.

16. προσελαύνοντα (G. 280). — παρήλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο: the point of view shifts; Cyrus being prominent as subject of παρήλθε, and the whole army as subject of ἐγένοντο.

17. μὲν: see τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ in § 20. — ἦσαν: plural, perhaps, because two kinds of tracks are mentioned.

18. Ἀμβρακιώτην: force of suffix? See G. 129, 10. — μάντιν: der.? — δαρεικούς: the στατήρ Δαρεικός, commonly called Δαρεικός, was a Persian gold coin, containing about 125.5 grains of gold. It would, therefore, now be worth about \$5.40 in our gold (\$1.00 having 23.22 grains). Here Cyrus pays a bet of 10 talents (60,000 drachmas) with 3000 Darics, which shows that the Daric was worth 20 drachmas, or \$3.60 in silver. The difference in these two results comes from the change in the proportional values of

gold and silver. In antiquity the proportion was about 10 : 1; now it is about 16 : 1. As the Daric was a gold coin, of course the former value (about \$5.40) is the correct one. The Daric is commonly supposed to have derived its name from Darius, the father of Xerxes. In the same way we have *Napoleon*, *Louis d'or*, etc., as names of coins. — ἀπ' ἐκείνης, i. e. *before that (day)*. — ὅτι τῇ . . . εἶπεν: causal (G. 250). — ἡμερῶν (G. 179, 1). Cf. ἡμέρα, above (G. 189), and σταθμόν, § 14 (G. 161). — Οὐκ . . . μαχεῖται, *he will not fight then at all* (lit. *hereafter*); see οὐκ ἔτι in lexicon. — οὐ: οὐ rather than μή μαχεῖται (G. 219, 3, N.), because he is consciously repeating the statement of Silānus (G. 223, N. 1). — ἀληθείας, *shall prove to be speaking the truth*; the future apodosis is in δώσειν or δοῦναι understood with ὑπισχνούμαι. — παρήλθον: see note on i. 1. 3.

19. ἐκάλυε: attempted action. — ἔδοξε: personal. — ἀπεργασθῆναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι, *to have abandoned the idea of fighting* (G. 262, 2; 174). — τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ: sc. ἡμέρα. — ὥστε ἐπορεύετο (G. 237). — ἡμελημένως: adverb formed from the perfect passive participle of ἀμellein.

20. καθήμενος, ἔχων: manner (G. 277, 2). — αὐτῷ: a dative of disadvantage, but στρατιώταις, just below, one of advantage (G. 184, 3).

## CHAPTER VIII.

SYNOPSIS: Near the station where he intends to halt for breakfast, Cyrus is met by Pategyas riding at full speed, who calls out that the King and his army are approaching (1). Great confusion ensues (2), and Cyrus gives orders for all to arm and fall into line (3). They begin to form as quickly as possible (4, 5), and Cyrus stations himself at their centre (6, 7). The enemy approach slowly and in silence, prepared for battle (8-11). Cyrus calls to Clearchus to attack the centre where the King is, but he is unwilling to do so (12, 13). The King's army continues to advance, the Greek force being not yet completely in line. Cyrus surveys both armies, and tells Xenophon, who rides up to him, to announce that the sacrifices are favorable (14, 15). The watchword is passed along the ranks of the Greeks, and then they advance chanting the paean (16, 17). They begin to move more and more rapidly, raising a shout to the God of War, at which the barbarians on the right of the King's army give way and take flight (18-20). Cyrus is pleased at the sight, but does not join in the pursuit. He directs his attention towards the King, who is beyond his extreme left, and then, in fear that he may be encircled, moves directly upon him, putting to rout the troops in front (21-24). He attacks the King in person and wounds him, but is himself struck with a javelin and killed. Artapātes dies upon his body (25-29).

1. ἦν (G. 134, N. 1 c). — ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν, *the time of full market*, i. e. from nine or ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Four parts of the day were designated, πρῶ (ii. 2. 1), ἀγορὰ πλήθουσα, μέσον ἡμέρας (§ 8), and δεῖλη (§ 8).

Page 26. — σταθμός: here *halting-place*. Cf. note on σταθμούς, i. 2. 5. — ἔμελλε, i. e. Cyrus. For ἔμελλε καταλθεῖν, expressing past intention, see G. 118, 6; *Moods and Tenses*, § 25, 2, N. 2. — καταλθεῖν, *to halt* (i. e.

for breakfast), lit. *to unhoke, to loose the horses*. Cf. *καταλύομεν ἵππους*, *Odys.* iv. 28; and *καταλῆαι παρ' ἐμοί*, *he lodges at my house*. — *προ-φαίνεται* . . . *κράτος*, *comes into view in front, riding at the top of his speed* (lit. *up to his might*). — *ἰδρύνει τῷ ἵππῳ* (G. 188, 5), *with his horse in a sweat*: the part. expresses attendant circumstance (G. 277, 6). Cf. *συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι* in i. 7. 14, and note. — *ὡς εἰς μάχην*, *apparently for battle*.

2. *αὐτίκα*: construe with *ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι*; put first for emphasis. — *καὶ πάντες δέ* *and all too*, i. e. Persians as well as Greeks (cf. i. 1. 2, and note). — *σφίσιν* (G. 144, 2). — *ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι*, i. e. the King (G. 280, 2).

3. Note in the first two lines the repeated use of the article as a possessive pronoun (G. 141, n. 2). — *τὰ πάλτά*: each Persian horseman carried two javelins into battle. Cf. i. 5. 15.

4. *τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος*, *the right (sc. μέρος, parts) of the wing*. *κέρα* here must mean the right wing, τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, of the entire force of Cyrus, as opposed to the left wing where most of the barbarians stood (§ 5). This distinction is plain in *ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ* and *ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ* (§ 5). But below, τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ means the left wing of this same Greek division (or κέρα). — *πρὸς*, *in front of, near*. — *ἐχόμενος*, *next to*, lit. *holding on to*, sc. *Κλεάρχου* (G. 199, n. 3; 171, 1). Cf. *ἐχόμενοι τούτων* in § 9.

5. *τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ*: part. gen. with *ἵπποις* (G. 168). — *εἰς*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note. — *ἕστησαν*, *took their position*. The Paphlagonian cavalry and Greek peltasts were stationed here to support the hoplites under Clearchus and follow up the advantage in case these slower troops should put the enemy to rout.

6. *Κύρος . . . ἀπλισμένοι* (sc. *ἕστησαν*), i. e. *stood armed*. — *ὅσον*, (so much) as *about*. Cf. note on *εἰς* in i. 2. 3. — *θώρακι μὲν αὐτοὶ . . . Κίρου*, (the men) *themselves on their part (μὲν) with breastplates, cuirasses (thigh-pieces), and helmets — all except Cyrus*. The exception refers only to *κράνεσι*, as appears from the following *Κύρος δέ, κ. τ. λ. οἱ δ' ἵπποι* (in § 7) corresponds to *θώρακι μὲν αὐτοὶ Κίρου*: case (G. 191, l. 5). — *ψαλὴν . . . κεφαλὴν*, *with his head unprotected* (G. 138, Rem.). Ctesias (in Plutarch, *Artax.* 11) says that Cyrus wore a tiara in place of a helmet.

7. Notice the derivation of *προ-μετ-επίδια* and *προ-στερνίδια*. — *μαχαίρας*: difference between the *μάχαιρα* and *ξίφος*!

8. Cf. the beginning of this section with that of § 1. — *ἤνικα . . . ἐγγίγντο*, *but when it began to be* (lit. *was becoming*) *afternoon*. Cf. note on § 1. The battle was fought between this time and dark. — *ἐφάνη*, *there was seen*. — *κοιν-ορός*: der.? — *χρόνῳ . . . πολῷ*, *but some time* (G. 188, 2) *later* (the dust appeared) *just like a sort of blackness in the plain for a great distance* (ἐπὶ πολῷ). — *χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε*, *here and there (τις) their bronze armor began to flash*.

9. *λευκο-θώρακες*: probably of linen; cf. *λινοθώραξ*, *Il.* ii. 539.

Page 27. — *ἐχόμενοι τούτων*: cf. note on *ἐχόμενος* in § 4. — *κατὰ ἔθνη*, *nation by nation* (G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c). — *ἑκαστον τὸ ἔθνος*: in appos. to *ουνοι*, but attracting *ἐπορεύετο* into an agreement with it: *but these were all proceeding* (normally *ἐπορεύοντο*) *nation by nation, each nation in the form of a solid square*.



10. ἄρματα: sc. ἦν. — καλούμενα: cf. note on καλουμένη in i. 2. 13. — ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων: inserted into the projecting extremity of the axle and stationary. — εἰς πλάγιον, *sideways*. — βλέποντα, *pointing*. — ὡς διακόπτειν: result (G. 266, N. 1). — στω (i. e. ἔστιν, G. 86). — ἐντυγχάνουσιν (G. 248, 2). — ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς . . . ἐλόντα (see ἐλαύνω), κ. τ. λ., *and they were designed to drive*, etc.; the partic. are nomin., as if γνώμην εἶχεν had preceded, and ὡς is used (G. 277, N. 2) as if the chariots themselves had the design. The covinni, or scythe-chariots of the ancient Britons, are well known.

11. δ μέντοι, *what however*, taken up in τοῦτο, two lines below. — καλέσας . . . Ἑλλῆσι: we might have had (cf. i. 7. 18) καλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρεκάλετο αὐτοῖς, but in Greek the obj. is regularly expressed but once. — ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο, *in this* (G. 160, 1) *he was mistaken*. — κραυγῇ: manner: so σιγῇ, ἥσυχῃ. — σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστόν, *with as little noise as possible*; in full ὡς ἀνυστόν ἦν προσείναι σιγῇ: see note on ἡ δυνατόν μάλιστα in i. 3. 15. — ἐν ἴσῳ, *with even step*, sc. βήματι: cf. ὁμαλῶς in § 14.

12. αὐτός, i. e. attended *only* by Pigres and the few others mentioned. — ἀγειν: obj. inf. not in indirect disc., following ἔβδα as it would ἐκέλευε (G. 260, 1). — τὸ τῶν πολεμίων (G. 142, 2). — ὅτι εἰη: causal (G. 250, N.). — κἂν (καὶ ἂν) νικῶμεν (G. 223). The apod. πεποιήται, though a perf. in form, refers vividly to the fut. (G. 200, N. 7), *our whole work is (will be) done*. — ἡμῖν (G. 197, 2').

13. ὁρῶν τὸ μέσον στίφος, *though he saw the compact body at the centre* (στίφος from στείβω, *to tread*), i. e. the 6000 cavalry mentioned in i. 7. 11. ἀκούων is also concessive (G. 277, 5). — Κύρου: gen. of source (G. 171, 2, N. 1). The clause ἔω ὄντα (G. 280) . . . βασιλέα constitutes the obj. acc. — τοῦ εὐνύμου: with ἔω (G. 182, 2). — τοσοῦτον . . . ἔω ἦν: parenth. — πλῆθει, *in numbers* (G. 188, 1, N. 1). — ἀλλ' ὅμως, *but still*, resuming after the parenthesis, with emphatic repetition of ὁ Κλέαρχος. — μὴ κυκλωθεῖη, *that he might be encircled* (der. from κύκλος; cf. Eng. *cycle*). Why opt.? — ὅτι αὐτῷ . . . ἔχαι: he said ἐμοὶ μέλα (G. 184, 2, N. 1, the clause that follows being the object gen.) ὅπως καλῶς ἔκῃ (G. 217, N. 1). — If Clearchus had been less cautious and obeyed orders, the result of the battle might have been very different. Plutarch (*Artax.* 8) says of Clearchus: ὁ δ' αὖ τῷ μάλιν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔχει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν.

14. τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα: the King's army. — ὁμαλῶς: cf. ἐν ἴσῳ in § 11, and note. — συνετάττετο . . . προσιώντων, *was forming its line from those still coming up*. — οὐ πᾶν πρὸς, *by no means near, at some distance from*. — πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι means *near the army itself*, αὐτῷ strengthening the idea of *nearness*. — ἐκατέρωσι (with ἀποβλέπων): cf. ἐκατέρωθεν in § 13, and see G. 61. — κατεβέατο, *took a survey*: ὁράω, *to see* in general; βλέπω, *to turn the eyes, look*; θεάομαι, *to gaze at*.

15. Ξενοφῶν: the first mention of Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. — ὡς συναντήσῃσι: purpose (G. 266, N. 1). — εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι, *whether* (G. 282, 4) *he had any commands* (G. 243). — ἐπιστήσας (sc. τὸν ἵππον), *pulling up*.

Page 28. — ἑρῶ, *omens from inspecting the inwards of the victims*; σφέρα, *omens from the acts and movements of the victims*.

16. λέγων, *while saying* (G. 277, 1). — τίς . . . εἶη, *what the noise was* (G. 243); but two lines below, εἰ τι εἶη, κ. τ. λ. (G. 149, 2<sup>a</sup>). — ὁ Κλέαρχος: Clearchus had ridden up in the mean time; some MSS. have Ξενοφών. — σύνθημα, *a thing agreed upon* (συν-τίθημι), *watchword*. — παρόχεται: what might have been the mood? Cf. παραγγέλλω and εἶη, below. — δεύτερον: the watchword passed first down the line from man to man, and then back again to make sure that it was understood. — καὶ ὅς, *and he*, i. e. Cyrus (G. 151, n. 3<sup>2</sup>). — τίς παραγγέλλω, i. e. *who was giving it out* without his approval.

17. Ἄλλὰ . . . ἔγωγε, *well, I accept it* (the password), *and let it be this*. ἀλλὰ marks the opposition between his present concession and preceding surprise. — καὶ οὐκέτι . . . ἀλλήλων, i. e. *the two lines were now less than three or four stades* (G. 161) *apart*. — διαχέτην τὰ φάλαγγι (G. 33, 1; 78, n. 2). — ἐπαιάνισον, *began to sing the paean*, as an omen of victory. — προήρχοντο, *began first* (πρό), i. e. *before the enemy*. — ἀντίοι (G. 138, n. 8; 185).

18. ὡς δὲ . . . φάλαγγος, *but when, as they* (sc. αὐτῶν) *proceeded, a part* (sc. μέρος with τῇ) *of the phalanx* (G. 168) *surged forward* (beyond the rest), *lit. billowed out* (κύμα, a wave), etc. — δρόμῳ θεῖν, *to go on the run, double quick* (dat. of manner). — οἰόντες . . . ἐλαλίσουσι, *just as they raise the war-cry to Enyalios* (Ares): ἐλαλίσω, *to shout* ἐλελεῖ. — καὶ πάντες δέ: cf. § 2 and note. — φόβον . . . ἵπποις (G. 277, 6), *thereby frightening* (lit. *causing fright among*) *the horses* (G. 184, 3).

19. πρὶν δὲ . . . ἐκκινεῖσθαι: lit. *before an arrow reached them*, i. e. *before the Greeks got within bowshot of them* (G. 274). — κατὰ κράτος: cf. ἀνὰ κράτος in § 1. — θεῖν δρόμῳ: here involving the idea of confusion and disorder (cf. § 18).

20. τὰ δ' ἄρματα, i. e. *of the enemy*. — τὰ μὲν, τὰ δέ: in partitive apposition to ἄρματα (G. 137, n. 2). — ἡνιόχων (G. 180, 1): derived from ἡνία, *a rein*, and ἔχω. — ἐπεὶ προΐδουεν, διέσταντο, *stood apart (separated), whenever they saw them in front of them* (G. 233). — ἔστι δ' ὅστις: we should expect rather ἦν δέ τις ὅς. Cf. the expressions in G. 152, n. 2, and ἦν οὗς in i. 5. 7, with note. — κατελήφθη ἐκπλαγείς, *was caught* (i. e. by not getting out of the way of a chariot) *in his consternation*. — ἵπποδρόμῳ: derivation? — καὶ . . . ἔφασαν, *and yet, in fact* (καὶ μέντοι), *they said that not even he suffered any harm* (οὐδέν, G. 159, n. 2). — οὐδέ . . . δέ: the negative expression corresponding to καὶ . . . δέ. Cf. i. 1. 2, and note. — οὐδ' οὐδέις οὐδέν: emphatic negation (G. 283, 9). So just preceding οὐδὲν οὐδέ. — τις, probably, *a single man*.

21. ὁρῶν, *when he saw*. — νικῶντας, διέκοντας: pred. participles in indirect discourse (G. 280). — τὸ καθ' αὐτοῖς: sc. πλήθος or στρατεύμα. — ἡδόμενος, *although he was pleased*. — οὐδ' ὥς (G. 29, n. 1), *not even then* (under these circumstances). — ἐξήχθη, *was led on, tempted* (ἐξάγω). — συνεισπραμένην: cf. note on ἐκκεκαλυμμένης in i. 2. 16: σπειράομαι, *to be coiled up*, from σπείρα (cf. Eng. *spira*). — ποιήσας, *would do*, might have been ποιήσοι (G. 243). — ᾗδε αὐτὸν ὅτι ἔχοι, *knew him that he had*, i. e. *knew that*

he had. Cf. i. 1. 5, and note. The thought could be expressed also in this way, ἦδα αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, but not αὐτὸν ἔχεν (G. 280, and n. 3).

Page 29. — 22. τὸ αὐτῶν (G. 142, 2; 187, 1). — ἡγούμεναι, *command*, i. e. they always hold this position in commanding their armies. — οὕτω, *thus*, takes up the idea of μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν, and is itself further defined by ἦν ἥ . . . ἑκατέρωθεν, *thus, viz. if part of their force is on either side of them*: οὕτω has besides a conditional force on αἰσθάνεσθαι δν. — ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῃ: sc. τόπῳ. — εἶναι (G. 260, 2) is apod. to the general cond. ἦν ἥ (G. 225). — ἡ ἰσχυρὸς αὐτῶν (G. 142, 4, n. 3). — εἰ χρήσιον . . . ἂν αἰσθάνεσθαι (G. 246; 247, n. 3): cf. also G. 226, 3; 211. — ἡμίση χρόνῳ: more commonly ἐν ἡμίση χρόνῳ (G. 189, n. 2).

23. δὴ τότε . . . ὅμως, i. e. the King accordingly (δὴ) on this occasion held (G. 277, 5) the centre, but still, etc. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου (sc. μέρου), *from the opposite side*. — αὐτοῦ: with ἔμπροσθεν (G. 182, 2). — ἐπέκαμπτον . . . κύκλωσιν, *wheeled round (lit. against), as if to encircle them*. By this movement the King's left, from being at right angles to the river, came to face it. — κύκλωσιν (G. 129, 3).

24. μὴ κατακόψῃ (G. 216, 2; 201, Rem.). — ἐλαίνει ἀντίος, *advances against him* (G. 138, n. 7). — τοὺς ἑξακισχίλους: identical with τοὺς πρὸ βασιλῆως τεταγμένους, but expressed to emphasize the contrast between the two forces, 600 on one side, 6,000 on the other. — αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ, *himself with his own hand*.

25. τροπή, the turning of an enemy, *roul* (G. 129, 1). — εἰς τὸ διώκειν, *in pursuit* (G. 262, 1). — πλὴν: here a conj. Cf. its use as a prep. in i. 2. 1. — σχῆδὸν . . . καλούμενοι, *chiefly his so-called* (cf. note on i. 2. 13) *table-companions*.

26. τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος: the King's ὁμοτράπεζοι, probably, in turn, who, now that the 6,000 had fled, formed a crowd (στίφος) about him for his protection. — ἠνέσχετο: double augm. (G. 105, 1, n. 3). — καὶ ἰάσθαι . . . φησι, *and he says that he himself healed* (he said ὥμην, G. 203, n. 1) *the wound*. The present infinitive can be used for the imperfect only when something in the sentence or in the context makes it plain that this is the case: here (as often) the well-known time of the event makes the meaning plain. (See examples in *Moods and Tenses*, § 15, 3.) We should expect here a relative sentence. The conjecture has been made, *ὅς καὶ ἰάσθαι, κ. τ. λ., who says also*, etc.

27. αὐτόν, i. e. Cyrus. — ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, *under the eye* (implying motion towards the eye). — μαχόμενοι . . . ἑκατέρω: the construction begun by these subjects is not finished, except so far as it is partially resumed in Κύρος δέ; but it breaks suddenly off in the indirect quest. ὁπόσοι . . . ἀπέθνησκον. — ἀπέθνησκον refers to several being killed at different times, whereas ἀπέθανε is used of Cyrus alone. — Κτησίας λέγει: we should say, *this I leave for Ctesias to tell*. — ἔκειντο, *lay dead, jacobant*.

28. ὁ πιστότατος θεράπων, *the attendant most in his confidence*. — πεπτωκότα: quoted after εἶδε (G. 280). — περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ: lit. *to have fallen about him* (G. 187). i. e. so as to embrace him. Cf. Q. Curtius, viii. 11. 16: *super amici corpus procubuit*.

29. καὶ . . . Κύρῳ: construe in the Greek order. — ἐπιτάξας αὐτὸν (Artapates) Κύρῳ (G. 187), *to slay him over Cyrus*, i. e. as a sacrifice. See ἐπιτάξω in lexicon. — ἑαυτὸν ἐπιτάσσασθαι: strongly reflexive, *slaw himself by his own hand*, ἑαυτὸν being added to the verb already in the mid. Note the force of σπασάμενον (G. 199, 3). — εὐνοίαν, πιστότητα: substantives formed with suffixes expressing quality (G. 129, 7).

## CHAPTER IX.

*Biographical Sketch of Cyrus.*

SYNOPSIS: Cyrus is agreed to have been the most worthy to reign of all Persians since Cyrus the Great (1). When a boy he excelled all others (2). The sons of Persian nobles are educated at the King's palace, and early learn to govern and obey (3, 4). Here Cyrus was remarkable for his modesty and obedience, as well as his love of horses and for learning warlike exercises (5). When older, he was fond of the chase (6). While satrap, he was careful to keep his promises (7); and cities, individuals, and even enemies had the greatest confidence in him (8). In his warfare with Tissaphernes all the cities, except Miletus, put themselves under his protection; and the inhabitants of Miletus feared him, because he showed by deeds and words that he would not desert the exiles whom they had banished (9, 10). He was always anxious to outdo those who did him either a kindness or an injury (11). A great number confided to his charge their property, cities, and persons (12). He was unsparing in his punishment of the criminal and unjust (13); but paid honor to warlike talents and bravery (14, 15), and rewarded those who loved justice (16). Foreign generals in his employ found it profitable to serve him well (17), for diligence was never unrewarded (18). Skilful and just managers of his lands were never deprived of their earnings (19). He was successful in attaching friends to himself, and ready to assist them in their own purposes (20, 21). He received and gave many presents, surpassed his friends in kind attentions, and was universally beloved (22-28): in proof of this no one deserted from him to the King (29). His virtues and his quickness in discerning the trustworthy are proved by the fact that, when he died, all his most intimate friends, except Ariæus, fell fighting in his behalf (30, 31).

Page 30. — 1. μὲν: without correlative. — οὐτως: what would ὅδε mean? — ἄνθρωπός τις, a man (G. 137) *who was*, etc. — Περσῶν γενόμενον (G. 168): the Persians meant were those of the royal line born (γενόμενον) after the time of (μετά, G. 191, VI. 3, 3 δ) Cyrus the Great. — βασιλικότατος: note the suffix -ατος (see G. 129, 13). — παρὰ: with the gen. of the agent in place of ἐν (G. 197, 1, n. 1). — τῶν δοκούστων γενέσθαι, those who are reputed to have become (γενέσθαι, G. 260, 2). — ἐν τέρπῳ Κύρου, i. e. *intimately acquainted with Cyrus*.

2. πρῶτον μὲν: corrol. to ἐπεὶ δὲ in § 6, which marks the second period in his life, and to ἐπεὶ δὲ in § 7, which marks the third. — ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, while (G. 277, 1) *still a boy*. — ἐπαίδευσεν: derivation and suffix? See G. 130, 4.

3. ἐπὶ . . . θύραις: as we say, *at court*. — *σωφροσύνην*, *self-control*, der. from *σώ-φρων* (*σῶς*, *σῶος*, and *φρήν*) with the suff. *σύν-α* (see G. 129, 7). — *καταμάθοι ἄν* (G. 226, 2 b). — *αἰσχρὸν . . . ἔστι* (G. 28, N. 1, end): for the construction cf. *ἦν ἰδεῖν . . . ἀνθρώπους* in § 13, below, and *οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν* in i. 5. 2. — *οὐδὲν οὔτε . . . οὔτε* (G. 283, 9).

4. *θεῶνται καὶ ἀκούουσι*, *they see some* (sc. *τινάς*) *honored and hear of them* (G. 280). — *εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες* (G. 277, N. 1), *in their very boyhood*. — *μανθάνουσιν ἄρχαν*, *learn how to rule* (G. 280, N. 3).

5. *αἰδημονίστατος*: put first for emphasis, displacing *μέν*: otherwise the order would be *πρῶτον μὲν αἰδημονίστατος*. — *ἰδόκα εἶναι*, *had the reputation of being*. — *τοῖς τε . . . πείθεσθαι*, *and of being more obedient to his elders than (were) even those inferior to himself in rank*. — *φιλιππότατος* (G. 136, N. 3 a) with *ἰδόκα εἶναι*, but *χρησθαι* with *ἰδόκα* alone. — *ἔκρινον*: *they* (i. e. men in general) *judged him*, etc. — *ἔργων*: with the two super. at the end of the sect. (G. 180, 2). — *ἀκοντίσσις*: force of the suff. *σις*? — Give the derivation at length of *αἰδήμων*, *ἡλικιώτης*, *ὑποδείης*, *Φίλιππος*, *τοξική*, *ἀκοντίσις*, *φιλομαθής*, and *μελετηρός*.

6. *ἡλικίᾳ* (G. 184, 2). — *μᾶλλον*, *moreover*. So below at the end. — *ἐπιφορμῇν*, *that rushed upon him* (G. 276, 1): *ἄρκτος* is *epicene* (G. 33, 2, N. 2). — *οὐκ ἔτρεσεν*, *was not afraid of, did not shrink from*. Cf. *τρέω*, *τρέμω*, *tremo*, *tremble*. — *συμπεσόν*: the idea is that of *grappling*, not of *falling to the ground, with the bear*. — *τὰ μὲν*: cogn. acc. (G. 159, N. 2), *suffered somewhat, received some wounds*. Often a different word takes the place of the article in one part of the correlation *ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ* (G. 143, 1), as here *τέλος δέ* (G. 160, 2). — *πολλοῖς*: dat. of the agent with the verbal adj. *μακαριστόν* (from *μακαρίζω*, *μάκαρ*).

7. *κατεπέμφθη*: why *κατά*? — *σατράπης*, *as satrap*. See, with ref. to the facts here mentioned, i. 1. 2, and the prefatory note. — *στρατηγὸς δέ καί*: cf. with ref. to pos. *καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ* in i. 1. 2. — *οἷς*: dat. of indir. obj. after *καθήκα* (G. 184, 2). — *πρώτον μὲν*: weakly correlated by *δέ* in § 11. — *ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι, κ. τ. λ.*, *he showed himself, that he made, etc.*, emphatic attraction. Cf. note on *τῶν βαρβάρων*, i. 1. 5. — *ὅτι . . . ποιοῖτο*, *that he made it of the greatest importance, regarded it most important*; the direct form of the sent. being *περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι, ἔάν τῃ στείλωμαι* (G. 225) *καὶ . . . συνθῆμαι καὶ . . . ὑπόσχωμαί τι, μὴδὲν ψεύδεσθαι* (G. 247). — *τῷ*: what other form was possible? See G. 84. — *σπένδομαι* of *making a treaty* (by libations); *συντίθεμαι* of *entering into an agreement*; *ἐπισχεύομαι* of *promising* in the common sense.

8. *καὶ γάρ*, *and (proof is at hand) for*. — *σπεισμένου*, temporal. — *μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν*, in direct form *οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιμι* (G. 211; 226, 2 b): for the change of neg. see G. 242, 4.

Page 31. — 9. *τοιγαροῦν*, *therefore*. — *ἐκούσαι* (G. 138, N. 7). — *Μιλησίῳν*: we should expect *Μιλῆται*. — *οἱτοί δέ . . . αὐτόν*: a proof, drawn from an enemy, that Cyrus was to be trusted. — *πρόσθαι*, *to abandon* (see *προήμι*).

10. *καὶ γάρ . . . ἔλεγε*, *for he both (καὶ . . . καὶ in correlation) showed repeatedly by what he did, and declared repeatedly, or, more freely, showed*

repeatedly both by word and deed. — *προσφο* (G. 127, III., N. 1). — *ἀπαξ* is once for all; but *ποτέ* once on a time (§ 8), some time, ever. — *οὐδ' εἰ . . . γίνοντο*, not even if they should become still fewer, i. e. should be cut down in numbers by their misfortunes. — *οἱ . . . πρῆξαν*: in direct form *οὐκ ἂν ποτε προσέμην, ἐπεὶ . . . ἐγενόμην, οὐδ' εἰ . . . γίνοντο . . . πρῆξαν* (G. 247, N. 2 and N. 3).

11. *φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ πειρώμενος*, but it was obvious also that he strove (G. 280, N. 1). — *εἰ ποιήσαιεν*: prot. to *πειρώμενος*. The fact made evident (i. e. the direct discourse) is *ἐάν τις . . . ποιήσῃ, πειρώμαι* (G. 225). For the two accusatives after *ποιήσαιεν*, see G. 165. For the parallel construction at the end of the section, see G. 165, N. 1, and cf. § 10. — *ἐξέφερον*, reported. — *ὡς εὐχοντο*: quoted (G. 243) after *εὐχὴν ἐξέφερον*, which involves the idea of *saying*. They said, *εὐχεται* (i. e. *he sometimes prays*) *ζῆν ἔσθ' ἂν νικᾷ* (G. 239, 2; 232, 3); the future apod. to *ἔσθ' ἂν νικᾷ* is *ζῆν*. For the change by quot. of the subj. *νικᾷ* to the opt., see G. 247. — *νικῶν ἀλεξόμενος*, should outdo in returning like for like.

12. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*: as in § 8. — *δὴ*: with the superlative, just as *μέγιστος* *δὴ* means the very greatest. The phrase *ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρί* also (*ἀνδρί*, of course, is grammatically in app. to *αὐτῷ*) logically modifies the superl.; the number, i. e., was the very greatest in view, at least (*γε*), of the fact that it was a single man (*ἐνὶ ἀνδρί*) that was in question. — *τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, of the men of our time, part. gen. with *αὐτῷ*, but affected also by the superlative *πλείστοι*, as if it had been said *he was trusted most of all the men of our day*. For this meaning of *ἐπὶ*, see G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b. — *προέσθαι*, to intrust. Cf. § 9.

13. *οὐ μὲν (= μὴν) δὴ οὐδέ*, nor yet now in truth. — *ἀφειδέστατα πάντων*, most unsparingly of all. — *ἦν ἰδέν*, it was possible to see, you might see. — *ποδῶν, χαρῶν, ὀφθαλμῶν*: why gen.? — *μηδὲν ἀδικούντι*, if in no respect (G. 159, N. 2) a wrong-doer (G. 277, 4). — *ὅ τι προχωροίη*, whatever it was to his advantage (G. 233) to have (sc. *ἔχεν*). For *ἤθελεν* (which might have been *ἠέλοι*), see G. 233, N. 1.

14. *μέντοι*, however. — *ὡμολόγητο*, he had been (and so was) acknowledged, pers. const. (cf. § 20). — *ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος*: principal sentence where we should expect a dependent one, such as *ὅντος ποτὲ αὐτῷ πολέμου*; for *πρώτον μὲν*, notwithstanding its position, goes with *ἀρχοντας ἔποιε* and is correlated by *ἔπατα*. — *καὶ αὐτός*, even in person. — *ἔθελοντας*: cf. *ἐκούσαι* in § 9, and note, and *ἔθελοντάς* in i. 6, 9, and note. — *ἤς κατεστρέφετο χάρας* (G. 154, N.).

15. *ὥστε . . . εἶναι*, so that (in his dominions) the good appeared (G. 266, 1) most prosperous, and the bad were deemed fit to be their slaves: *φαίνεσθαι* would regularly either stand within the clause with *μὲν* or else belong to both subjects. — *οἴοιτο*: for the mood cf. *προχωροίη* in § 13. — *αἰσθησισθαι*: quoted (G. 260, 2).

16. *γὰρ μὴν*, certainly at least, adding a case in the general testimony to the high character of Cyrus that could not be controverted; more simply, moreover. — *εἰς δὲ αἰοσύνην* (see G. 129, 7 and 12): with *ἐπιβεκνυσθαι*,

to distinguish himself for uprightness. — εὐνοῖτο, ἐποιοῖτο (G. 225). — βουλόμενος: quoted. Cf. φανερός ἦν περιόμενος in § 11. — περὶ πάντος ποιοῖτο: cf. περὶ πλείστον ποιοῖτο in § 7. — τούτους: pl. because of the distributive force of τῆς to which it refers. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου, *by injustice* (G. 139, 2).

Page 32. — 17. δίκαιος, *with fidelity*. — διεχειρίζετο, *were managed*, lit. *were had in hand*. — καὶ . . . ἐχρήσατο, *and he secured the services of* (G. 200, N. 5 b) *an army worthy of the name, justo exercitu*. — ἐπελευσαν: coming as mercenaries across the sea. — ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν, *because they judged it*, etc. (G. 250). — παθαρχῶν (G. 131, 2 a). — τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος is in the same construction as παθαρχῶν, the subject of εἶναι, which might have been τὸ παθ. (G. 259 and N.). For κατὰ μῆνα, *monthly*, see G. 191, IV. 2, 2 c.

18. εἰ τίς γὰρ τι: one proclitic, three enclitics. The proclitic takes the accent of τῆς; for the accent of the enclitics, see G. 28, N. 2. — τίς γε, *any one* (emphatically), no matter how insignificant. — τι: with ἐπηρετήσαεν, *did him* (G. 184, 2) *any* (G. 159, N. 2) *good service*. With ἐπηρετήσαεν cf. γίνετο in § 16, and the ref., and also ὁρῶν in § 19. — οὐδὲν . . . προθυμῶν, *he never let his* (lit. *any one's*, G. 184, 3) *zeal* (see G. 129, 7) *go unrewarded*. — κρᾶτιστοι δὴ: cf. πλείστοι δὴ in § 12, and note. — ὑπηρέται, *supporters*. — Κύρῳ . . . γινέσθαι, *Cyrus was said to have had*, lit. *were said to have been (become) to Cyrus* (poss. dat., G. 184, 4).

19. τινα ὄντα, *that any one was* (G. 280). So the two participles that follow. — οἰκονόμων, *manager*, Eng. *eco-nomist*. Note the derivation. — ἐκ τοῦ δίκαιου, *according to justice*, or we may freely transl. *δεδόν . . . δίκαιον*, *a skilful and just manager*. — ἥς ἄρχοι is part of the conditional relative sentence (= εἰ τινος ἄρχοι) and follows the construction of ὁρῶν. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 64, N. 2. — χάρας (G. 154). — οὐδένα ἄν . . . ἀφ-είλετο, *he would never deprive* (G. 206) *him* (lit. *any one*) *of (his territory, sc. χάραν*, and see G. 164). The ἄν belongs equally to προσέδιδον (G. 212, 4). This form with ἄν, since it expresses a customary action, is a natural apodosis to εἰ ὁρῶν. See again G. 225, and *Moods and Tenses*, § 51, Rem. — ἐπέπατο (see πάσμαι, *to acquire*): cf. the use of the perf. and plup. of κτάσμαι. — αὖ, *moreover*. — Κύρον (G. 164). — οὐ φθονῶν ἐφαίνετο ἀλλὰ περιόμενος, *it was clear that he did not envy, but strove, etc.* (G. 280).

20. φιλους: emphasized by position and the following particles; obj. of θεραπεύειν. — ὄσους ποιήσαιο (G. 233): the apodosis is θεραπεύειν (not γινέσθαι). This use of the optative, as also the corresponding one in conditional clauses not relative (G. 225), occurs repeatedly in this chapter and should be watched for. — ὄντας: cf. ὄντα in § 19. — ἱκανοὺς συνεργοὺς δ τι τυγχάνοι, *competent co-workers in whatever he chanced, etc.* — δ τι τυγχάνοι (= εἰ τι τυγχάνοι): see note on ἥς ἄρχοι in § 19. — βουλόμενος: cf. παρὲν in i. 1. 2, and note. — πρὸς, *by* (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 b, end). — κρᾶτιστος δὴ: cf. § 12 and § 18. — γινέσθαι: in the dir. form ἐγένετο (G. 260, 2).

21. αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπερ ἕνεκα, κ. τ. λ., *he tried to secure for his friends that very object for which he thought that he needed friends himself*, — viz. *that he might have co-workers*, — *he tried (I say) also on his own part to be a most*

*vigornus co-worker with his friends, etc.* αὐτὸ τοῦτο would naturally have been the object of some verb like πράττειν after ἔπει, αὐτο, but for this simple αὐτὸ τοῦτο πράττειν the amplified expression συνεγὼς . . . εἶναι . . . ἐπιθυμοῦντα was substituted, to express the same idea more fully. Cf. ἀ . . . καλοῦσιν in iii. 5. 5.—τούτου: emphatic (G. 152).—δου (i. e. οὔτινος, G. 84) is not gen. by assimilation, but gen. independently (G. 171, 2).—ἐπιθυμοῦντα: quoted after αἰσθάνοιτο (G. 280).

22. οἶμαι: by syncope for οἴομαι. The word is here parenthetic, like our *I think*.—εἰς γε ὦν ἄνθρω: cf. ἐνί γε ἄνθρω in § 12, and note.—διὰ πολλά, for many reasons.—δι-εἰδίου, distributed.—καὶ δου: sc. πρὸς and the indef. antecedent of δου.—δεόμενον: how is the part. to be construed?

23. κόσμον: in app. to δεῖα (G. 137, N. 4).—ἢ . . . ἢ, either . . . or.—ὡς εἰς πόλεμον: the ὡς marks the purpose for which the objects were sent (εἰς πόλεμον) as subjectively conceived by the sender. Cf. ὡς εἰς μάχην in i. 8. 1, and ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν in i. 8. 23.—καλλ-ωπισμόν: der.?—καί, moreover, with the following sentence as a whole.—λέγαν: an imperfect infinitive with ἔφασαν (G. 203, N. 1): they said ἔλεγε, he used to say. Cf. ἐλέχθησαν γινώσθαι in § 18.—δύναιτο (G. 245); νομίζοι (G. 243). Cyrus said οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην . . . φίλους δὲ . . . νομίζω.

24. καὶ τὸ μὲν . . . ποιοῦντα, and his surpassing (G. 259, N.) his friends in conferring great (with emphasis) benefits, etc. τὰ μεγάλα is cognate acc. with εὖ ποιοῦντα, benefiting (G. 159, N. 2).—ἐπιμελεῖα: dative of respect (G. 188, 1, N. 1).—φίλων (G. 175, 2).

Page 33. —τῷ προθυμείσθαι: parallel in construction to τῇ ἐπιμελεῖα (G. 262, 2).—ταῦτα takes up τὸ περιεῖναι, κ. τ. λ.

25. οἶνου (G. 167, 4).—ἡμι-δεῖς (δέω, to want).—οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου, not for a long time (G. 179, 1), lit. not as yet now within a long time.—ὅτι . . . ἐπιτύχοι represents ἐπέτυχον, κ. τ. λ., in the words of Cyrus (G. 243); but the next sentence gives the actual words of the messenger, who in delivering the gift would say: Κύρος οὔπω δὴ πολλοῦ . . . ἐπέτυχεν· τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, κ. τ. λ. Cf. the last half of § 26, τοῖσι τοῖσι ἔσθῃ Κῦρος· βούλεται, κ. τ. λ.—ἐκπνέειν, to drink it up (lit. out): cf. Germ. austrinken.—σὺν οἷς (G. 153, N. 1).

26. ἡμιβρότους: der.?—ἡμίσεια, halves (G. 139, 1).—ἐπι-λέγαν, to say in addition (to presenting the gifts), to add.—τούτων γινώσασθαι, to take a taste of (note the force of the aorist) these (G. 171, 2).

27. ἐδύνατο: there is some MS. authority for δύναιτο. See G. 233, N. 1, and Moods and Tenses, § 62, N. 1.—δια-πίμπων: force of διὰ!—ὡς μὴ ἄγωσιν: subj. of purpose after a secondary tense (G. 216, 2). The student will note that a clause of negative purpose can be introd. either by the simple μὴ, or by μὴ preceded by ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, the meaning in both cases being simply that not, lest. Cf. the examples under G. 216, 1.

28. πλείστοι, very many.—μέλλοιεν ὀφείσθαι: see i. 8. 1, and note.—ἐσπουδαίο-λογεῖτο, he engaged in earnest conversation (with them), a denom. verb (G. 130, 2) der. from σπουδαῖος and λέγω, and σπουδαῖος from σπουδή, σπεῦδω (G. 129, 12).—ὡς δηλοῖ οὗς τιμᾶ (τιμᾶ indic.), that he might show



(G. 216, 1) *whom he honored* (G. 248, N., end). The purpose in his own mind was, *ὡς δηλῶ* (subj.) *ὅς τιμῶ* (indic.). — *ἐξ ἧν ἀκούειν*, *from what I hear*: cf. ἀκούειν in i. 8. 20, and note. — *Ἑλλήνων, βαρβάρων*: with οὐδένα.

29. *τούτου, τόδε*: diff. of use! — *δοῦλου ὄντος*, *though he was a slave*. Cf. i. 7. 3. — *πλήν*: conj. Cf. i. 8. 25. — *καὶ οὗτος . . . εὔρε*: the order is, *καὶ οὗτος δὴ ταχὺ εὔρε αὐτὸν ὃν ἔμετο*, κ. τ. λ. Cf. i. 6. 3. For οἱ, see G. 144, 2. — *φιλαίτερον*: for the more common *φιλτερον* (G. 73, 1, 10). — *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*: the King. — *ἀγαπόμενοι*: ἀγαπάω is properly to show by outward signs that one regards; *φίλις* (§ 28, end), on the other hand, is used of the love of friends. — *τυγχάνειν ἄν* is quoted after *νομίζοντες* (G. 246): the protasis lies in *ὄντες* = *εἰ εἴησαν* (G. 226, 1).

30. *τὸ αὐτῷ γενόμενον*, *what happened to him*, sc. *ὅτι*: *τεκμήριον* is pred. — *τοῖς . . . βεβαίους*: the article is expressed but once, because the writer is speaking of a single class of persons possessing all the qualities mentioned, *those who were faithful, well-disposed, and constant*.

31. *συν-πράττειν*: cf. *δημοπράττειν* in i. 8. 25. — *ἐνέπ*, *over, in behalf of* (G. 191, IV. 3, 1 b). — *τεταγμένος*: what use of the part! Explain the use also of *πεπτακότα* in the next line.

## CHAPTER X.

**SYNOPSIS**: The head and right hand of Cyrus are cut off; the King falls upon his camp, and the troops of Ariaeus flee (1). The camp is pillaged, except where a few of the Greeks, who have been left on guard, make a successful stand (2, 3). Both armies proceed as if victorious, the Greeks pursuing, the Persians plundering (4); but when they discover one another's movements, the King collects his forces, and Clearchus consults with Proxenus (5). The King is seen approaching; but instead of making an attack upon the rear of the Greek army, as is expected, he leads off his troops to the left (6), joined by Tissaphernes, who has charged through the Greek lines (7, 8). The Greeks fall back upon the river (9). The King draws up his troops opposite, but is again put to flight (10, 11). His cavalry rally upon a hill, but on the approach of the Greeks abandon this also (12, 13). Clearchus sends a scout upon the hill to report their movements (14), who brings back word that they are flying at the top of their speed (15). The Greeks abandon the pursuit, and wonder at the absence of Cyrus (16). They resolve to return to their camp (17); but finding this plundered, they encamp supperless for the night (18, 19).

Page 34. — 1. The narrative is resumed from Chap. viii. — *ἀποτέμνεται* . . . *δεξιὰ*: a Persian custom. In iii. 1. 17 it is stated that the head and hand of Cyrus were exposed to view fixed on a stake. — *ἀποτέμνεται, δῶκων, εἰσπύπτει*: note and explain the number and agreement of these words. — *Κίρρον*: an adj. in place of the more common poss. gen. *Κίρρου*. — *στρατόπεδον*: merely the place where they had halted in the hurry of the unexpected engagement (i. 8. 1 sq.). — *οἱ μετὰ Ἀριαίου*, *Ariaeus and those with him*, like the phrase *οἱ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην*, iii. 5. 1: *μετὰ Ἀριαίου* implies *participation* (G. 191, VI. 3, 1), but *σὺν αὐτῷ* above implies *accom-*

*paniment* (G. 191, II. 2). — *ἐνθεν ἄρμηντο*: on the morning of the battle. It will be remembered that the battle was fought on the afternoon of the third day (i. 7. 20) after the midnight review mentioned in i. 7. 1, and that this review was held on the night after the third day's march from Pylae. Cf. note on *ἐντεῖθεν*, i. 7. 1. — *τέτταρες . . . ἰδοῦ*, and the distance was said to be four parasangs, lit. there were said to be four parasangs of the road.

2. *πολλά*: pred., to a great amount. — *τὴν Φωκαίδα . . . εἶναι*, the Phocaean woman, the concubine (G. 137) of Cyrus, who was said (*τὴν . . . λεγομένην* = *ἡ . . . ἐλέγετο*: G. 276, 2; 137) to be, etc. Athenaeus says that she was first named Milto, and afterwards Aspasia. Phocaea was a city of Ionia. See the map. — *λαμβάνει*: with *βασιλεύς*, above.

3. *ἡ νεώτερά*, the younger (of the two). — *γυμνή*, lightly clad, without her mantle. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: sc. *τινάς* (a rare omission). — *ἐν τοῖς σκαυοφόροις* (neut.), i. e. among the baggage. — *ὅπλα ἔχοντες*, under arms, standing guard (G. 279, 4). — *καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες* (sc. *οὔτοι*). — *οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν*, and some also of their own number: *οἱ δὲ* is correl. to *πολλοὺς μὲν*. Cf. note on *τὰ μὲν* in i. 9. 8. — *ἐντὸς αὐτῶν*, within their lines. — *ἐγένοντο*: plural from the influence of *ἀνθρώποι*.

4. *ἄλλήλων*: why gen.? — *οἱ Ἕλληνες*: the main body. — *οἱ μὲν*: referring chiasmically (see note on *ἀναβαίνει* . . . *ἀνίστη* in i. 1. 2) to *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. — *ὡς πάντας νικῶντες*, thinking that they were victorious over all (G. 277, N. 2), but below, *ὡς . . . νικῶντες*, thinking that now they were all victorious.

5. This entire section consists of four clauses arranged chiasmically, 1) referring chiefly to the Greeks, 2) chiefly to the King, 3) to the King, and 4) again to the Greeks. — *εἴη*: why opt.? — *Τισσαφέρνης*: stationed at the King's extreme left (i. 8. 9), he had charged through the right of the Greeks and joined the King in the camp of Cyrus in the rear (§ 7). — *νικῶν*, *ὀχονταί*: one verb changed to the opt. by quot., the other not; for which see *Moods and Tenses*, § 70, 2, Rem. 1, end. Cf. also G. 247, N. 1. — *πλησιαίτατος*: comparative how formed? (G. 71, N. 2). — *πέμπουσιν, ἴουσιν*: in the direct questions, *πέμπωμεν, ἴωμεν*; (G. 256; 244). For *εἰ . . . ἦ*, introducing the double indirect question, see G. 282, 5.

6. *δῆλος ἦν προσιών*: cf. *δῆλος ἦν ἀνέμενος* in i. 2. 11, and note. — *ὡς ἰδοὺκα ὀπισθεν*, i. e. apparently from their rear. — *στραφέντες*, facing about. It will be remembered that the two forces were somewhat more than three miles apart (§ 4). — *παρεσκευάζοντο . . . δεξόμενοι*, prepared themselves with a view to his advancing in this way (i. e. *ὀπισθεν*) and to their receiving (him so): *ὡς* (G. 277, N. 2) belongs not only to *δεξόμενοι* (part. of purpose), but also to *προσιόντος* (part. of cause). *προσιόντος* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*) is the genitive abs.; *δεξόμενοι* modifies *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. See, further, *Moods and Tenses*, § 111. — *ἣ δὲ παρήλθεν*, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 8. 23. The aor. is a pluperfect in force. Cf. i. 1. 2. — *ἀπήγαγεν*, marched back.

Page 35. — 7. *διήλασε . . . πελταστάς*, charged along (*παρά*) the river into (*κατά*) the Greek peltasts and through them. — *διελάνων δέ*, and as he drove through them. For the force stationed at the extreme right of Cyrus when the battle began, see i. 8. 5. — *ἔπαιον*: probably with their swords.

— αὐτοῖς: the cavalry of Tissaphernes. — Ἀμφιπολίτης, of *Amphipolis*, an important Greek city on the Strymon in Thrace. — ἐλέγετο . . . γενέσθαι, *was said to have proved himself* (G. 260, 2) *sagacious (to have shown his wisdom)* by pursuing this course of tactics.

8. οὖν, at any rate. Cf. i. 2. 12. — ὥς . . . ἀπηλλάγη, *after he had come off* (note the force of the tense) *with the worst of it*, lit. *having less*. — τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (G. 142, 2). — ὁμοῦ πάλιν ἐπορεύοντο, *proceeded back together*.

9. τὸ εὐόνυμον: the historian has the position of the Greeks when the battle began in mind, their right then resting on the river. They had now faced about (στραφέντες, § 6). — μὴ προσάγειν, κατακόψαι: why opt.? — ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας: lit. *to fold back the wing*. The object was to bring their line parallel to the river. At present they are at right angles to it. For the const. of ἰσκέαι ἀναπτύσσειν, cf. i. 3. 11, and note, and with ἀναπτύσσειν, *to fold back*, cf. περιπτύσσειν, *to fold about, enfold*, above.

10. ἐβουλεύοντο: before the Greeks had even begun to change their position, while they were as yet simply planning it, the King was already executing relatively the same manoeuvre, with the intention of presenting his front to the river. This shows that the apprehension of the Greeks, mentioned in § 9, ἔβασαν . . . κατακόψαι, was well grounded. It is not implied by ἐβουλεύοντο that the Greeks did not subsequently effect their change of position. — καὶ δὴ . . . συνῆε, *the King in truth also, changing his line of battle to the same form* (i. e. τοῖς Ἑλλησιν), *stationed it opposite, just as at first he had met them for battle*. — ὄντας, παρατεταγμένους: what use of the participles? — αὐτοῖς: see the description of the first charge of the Greeks in i. 8. 17 sq. — τὸ πρόσθεν: adverbial accusative (G. 160, 2). Cf. τὸ πρότερον, above.

11. ἐκ πλείονος, *when at a greater distance from them*. — ἐπ' ἐδίσκον: note the force of the preposition. — κόμης τινός: possibly *Cynaxa* (Κούναξα), the village near which, as Plutarch says, the battle was fought.

12. ἀνιστράφησαν, *rallied*. — περὶ (without article), predicate, sc. ὄντες. The const. changes at τῶν δὲ ἱππέων, where we should expect ἱππέας δὲ, ὃν δ' λόφος, κ. τ. λ. — τῶν . . . ἐνεπλήσθη: the passive of the construction explained in G. 172, 2. — τὸ ποιούμενον: τὸ γινόμενον is more common in this sense. — μὴ γινώσκων: sc. τοὺς Ἕλληνας. — ἀερόν . . . ἀνατεταμένον, (probably) *a kind of (τινὶ) golden eagle, with wings extended, perched on a bar of wood (and raised) upon a lance*. πέλτη, which commonly means a shield or target, is also used for δόρυ or λόγχη; and ἐπὶ ξύλου may refer to a horizontal piece of wood on which the eagle was perched. So ἐπὶ ξύλου καθεύδεις, *roost like a fowl*, Aristoph. *Nub.* 1431. The ξύλον with the eagle was then raised on the point of a lance (ἐπὶ πέλτῃ). In the *Cyrop.* vii. 1. 4, the Persian standard is called ἀερός χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. Curtius, iii. 3. 16, calls it auream aquilam pinnas extendenti similem.

13. ἐνταῦθα: for ἐνταυθοῖ, just as we use *here* or *there* in the sense of *hither* or *thither*. — ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν, *some from one part (of the hill), others*

from another, or, as we should say, some in one direction, others in another. — τῶν ἱππέων: with ἐψηλοῦτο, was cleared of the horsemen. Cf. τῶν ἱππέων ἐνεπλήσθη in § 12. — τέλος: cf. i. 9. 6.

14. ἐπ' αὐτόν, at the foot of it. — κατ-ιδόντας: note the preposition.

Page 36. — τί ἔστιν: in what other mood might the verb have been? What case of the same sort is there in the next section?

15. σχεδὸν . . . ἦν, i. e. and about this time.

16. θέμενοι τὰ δπλα: see note on i. 5. 14. — φαίνοντο, παρείη: optative in a causal sentence (G. 250, N.). — τεθνηκότα: cf. πεπτωκότα in i. 8. 28. — διώκοντα ὀχεσθαι, had gone (G. 246) in pursuit (G. 279, 4, N.). — καταληψόμενον τι προεληλακέναι, had pushed on (give the direct form) to take possession of (G. 277, 3) something.

17. εἰ ἀγοιγτο ἢ ἀπίοιεν: cf. εἰ πέμποιεν ἢ ἴοιεν in § 5, and note. — δορησθέν, supper-time (although they went supperless, § 19): derived from δόρπον, which in Homer is the common name for the afternoon or evening meal, Lat. coena, the chief meal of the day. In the primitive Homeric times there were two regular meals, ἀριστον, an early meal, breakfast, and δόρπον, a late meal, supper. Either could be called δεῖπνον, which in Attic Greek meant the chief meal of the day, and as this came late in the afternoon, δεῖπνον took the place of the older name δόρπον. Cf. δ-δειπνοὶ in § 19. The Attic ἀριστον was a midday meal, lunch, or dinner.

18. διηρπασμένα (G. 279, 1). — εἴ τι . . . ἦν, whatever there was to eat or drink (ποτόν, verbal adjective from πίνω). — μεσάς: predicate adjective, sc. οὕσας, (that had been) full (G. 204, N. 1). τὰς ἀμάξας and the τοῦτο that is to be understood as the antecedent of the clause εἴ τι . . . ἦν are, along with τὰ πλείστα, objects of καταλαμβάνουσι. — εἰ λάβοι (G. 248, N.). — ἀμαξαί: predicate to ἦσαν, αὐταὶ being the subject. — καὶ ταύτας . . . διήρπασαν: this is partly a repetition of what has already been expressed in διηρπασμένα. — τότε: see § 2.

19. ἀδειπνοὶ ἦσαν· ἦσαν ἀνέριστοι: what is such an arrangement of the parts of a sentence called? Note also the case that follows, καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Cf., concerning the fact stated in πρὶν γὰρ . . . ἐφάνη, i. 8. 1, and note. — μέν: correlative to εἰ in ii. 1. 2.

## BOOK SECOND.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE KING. — CONCLUSION OF A TREATY. — BEGINNING OF THE MARCH HOMEWARD. — TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE FIVE GENERALS. — THEIR CHARACTERS.

### CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: The preceding Book is reviewed in outline (1). At daybreak the generals meet and express surprise that Cyrus neither appears himself nor sends

them orders. They resolve to march forward and meet him (2); but just at sunrise messengers bring word that he is dead, and that Ariaeus proposes to set out on the next day for Ionia (3). The Greeks are afflicted at the death of Cyrus, but, accepting the facts, send word to Ariaeus that they will make him king (4). Chrisôphus and Menon go back with the messengers (5). Clearchus awaits their return, and the troops slaughter the beasts of burden for food (6). Herald's arrive from the King (7), who announce that he commands the Greeks to give up their arms and sue at his gates for favor (8). Clearchus, replying briefly, leaves the rest to answer while he returns to conclude a sacrifice (9). Various replies are made, some threatening, others conciliatory (10-14). Clearchus returns and shrewdly asks the advice of Phalinus, one of the heralds and himself a Greek, hoping that he will advise them not to surrender (15-18). But he replies that they have no chance for life except from the King's mercy (19). Clearchus contemptuously replies that they will keep their arms (20). Phalinus then informs them that the King will consider that a truce exists between himself and them, as long as they remain where they are; but otherwise, war (21). Clearchus bids him report that this is a satisfactory arrangement (22), but refuses to give any intimation of his intentions (23).

1. The first section of Book II., and the similar introductions prefixed to most of the following books, are generally supposed to be the work of an editor who divided the *Anabasis* into books. — *ὡς . . . ἰσχυροτέρω*: the first of five indirect questions, subjects of *δεδῆλωται*. — *ὅτι*: to introduce the recapitulation. — *Κύρῳ*: dative of advantage (G. 184, 3), not of the agent. — *ἐκοιμήθησαν*: *κοιμάω*, to put to sleep, is akin to *κέειμαι*. — *τὰ πάντα*, at all points (G. 160, 2). Why is the subject of *νικᾶν* omitted? (G. 134, 3). — *νικᾶν*: their thought was, *νικῶμεν*, we have conquered (are victorious), a pres. with an approach to the signif. of the perf. (*Moods and Tenses*, § 10, n. 4). — *ἔμπροσθεν* (G. 141, n. 3). — *λόγῳ*, narrative, i. e. in Book I.

2. *ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ*: cf. i. 7. 2, and reference. For *δὲ*, see note on *μὲν* in i. 10. 19: the editor above-mentioned (note on § 1) probably used the *μὲν* at the beginning of § 1 without noticing the preceding sentence.

Page 37. — *ὅτι πέμποι, φαίνοντο*: cf. the opt. in i. 10. 16, and note. — *σημανοῦντα*: what does the part. express? — *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν*: cf. i. 10. 5. — *ὡς συμμίξαι*: optative in a dependent clause by quotation (G. 248, 3). What other mood might we have had, and why? What would then be added to *ὡς*?

3. *ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων*, when they (sc. *αὐτῶν* and cf. i. 2. 17) were on the point of starting. — *ἄλλω*: the names of the heavenly bodies, like proper names, may omit the article. Cf. *ἥλιος* in i. 10. 15. — *Προκλῆς*: of the third dec. (G. 52, 2, n. 3). — *Τευδραβίας*: a town and district in Mysia. — *γεγονός*, descended from. — *Δαμαράτου*, *Damarātus*, a Spartan king, deposed in 491 B. C., who settled in southwestern Mysia. See a dict. of biography. — *Γλοῦς*: mentioned in i. 4. 16. He had now gone over to Artaxerxes. For *Tamos* see i. 2. 21, and note. — *τέθνηκεν* might have been *τεθνήκοι* (G. 243): cf. the optatives that follow, *εἴη*, *λέγοι*, *φαίη*. — *σταθμῷ*: cf. i. 10. 1. —

δοεν = ἐξ οὗ. — ἡμέραν (G. 161). — περιμέναντες ἄν . . . μάλλοιεν: in the dir. form (G. 247), περιμέναιμι ἄν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μάλλουσιν ἡμέαν (G. 227, 1). — τῇ ἄλλῃ, on the next day. — ἀπέναι (G. 200, N. 8δ) φαίη: cf. with λέγουσσι, κ. τ. λ., above, and see G. 260, N. 1. — ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, in the direction of Ionia (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 a).

4. ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι: chiasitic. — Ἀλλά: often begins a speech opposed to one that precedes. Cf. i. 7. 6. — ἄφελε . . . ζῆν, would that Cyrus were living (G. 251, 2, N. 1). How else might the thought have been expressed? — νικῶμεν: cf. the note on § 1, and cf. also § 8, § 9, and § 11. — εἰ μὴ ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἄν: the prot. referring to the past, the apod. to the present (G. 222). — καθίστην, see καθίζω (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — τῶν νικόντων: predicate genitive of possession (G. 169, 1). — τὸ ἄρχαν: subject infinitive with the art. (G. 259, N.).

5. ταῦτα: why did the Greeks use the plural, and why do we translate by the singular? — τοὺς ἀγγέλους: Procles and Glus, § 3. — καὶ γὰρ: cf. i. 1. 6, and note.

6. οἱ μὲν: asyndeton. See note on i. 2. 4, and cf. i. 2. 25. — ὅπως, as, = ὡς. — ξύλοις, for fuel (G. 137, N. 4). — μικρὸν . . . οὐδ', going forward a short distance (G. 161) from the main body, to where, etc. — οἰστοῖς, arrows, derived from the root that appears in οἶστω, the future of φέρω. Lit. then οἰστός is that which is borne or shot. — ἡνάγκαζον: had compelled: cf. ἐποίησε in i. 1. 2, with note, and ἐπολιόρκα, συνεπολέμα in i. 4. 2. — τοὺς αἰτομολούντας: cf. i. 10. 6. — φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι, left to be carried away, i. e. for fuel (G. 265). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 97, N. 1, end. — κρέα: object of both participle and verb.

Page 38. — 7. καὶ ἤδη . . . ἀγοράν: cf. i. 8. 1, and note. — οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι: in apposition to κήρυκες. We should expect εἰς δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνοσ Ἕλληνας to follow. — βάρβαροι: predicate to ὄντες to be supplied. — ἐντίμως ἔχων, to be in honor. Cf. note on εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχουσιν, i. 1. 5. — ἐπιστήμων: derivation? — τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις = τῶν τακτικῶν. For the case, see G. 182, 1. — ὀπλο-μαχίαν, the art of fighting in heavy armor (G. 131, 1).

8. οὕτως . . . ἀγαθόν: what changes of mood are possible in this sentence? (G. 247): λέγουσιν has the force of an historical tense (G. 201, Rem.). — νικῶν: what use of the part? Cf. also note on νικῶν in § 1. — παραδόντας: for the relation of this part to the following λόγους εὐρίσκεισθαι, cf. note on ὑπολαβάν in i. 1. 7. — εὐρίσκεισθαι . . . ἀγαθόν, to seek to get whatever (lit. if any) favor they could (G. 223).

9. βαρύνει, with anger. — ὅμως: Clearchus, though himself angry, nevertheless, etc. — εἴη: why opt.? — ἔφη, continued he. — δ τ: cogn. acc. to ἀποκρίνασθαι to be supplied with ἔχετε. — ἔξω, will return. Cf., as to meaning, ἐλθόντες in § 1. — ὅπως . . . ἐξηρημένα, that he might see the entrenchments (after they had been) taken out. — θυόμενος: why middle?

10. πρόσθεν ἢ παραδοῖεν: πρόσθεν ἢ (where πρὶν might have been used) with the opt. (G. 240, with N.; 232, 4). There is no change of mood in quoting what Clearchus said (G. 245; 247, N. 3). — θαυμάζω, should like to know. — πότῃ . . . ἤ: double indirect question (G. 232, 5). — ὡς κρατῶν:

force of *ὥς*! — *ἢ ὥς . . . δῶρα, or as gifts* (G. 137, N. 4) *on the alleged (ὥς) ground of friendship*, as if he had said *ὥς φίλος ἂν*. — *τί . . . ἐλθόντα, why should he ask for them and (why should he) not (οὐ, not μή) come and take them?* — *πείσας, by persuasion*, opp. to *ὥς κρατῶν*. — *τί ἔσται . . . χαρίσονται*: cf. i. 7. 8, *τί . . . κρατήσονται*.

11. *πρὸς ταῦτα, in reply to this*. — *αὐτῷ*: with *ἀντιποιεῖται* (G. 186, N. 1). — *ἔστιν*: why accented? — *ἀρχῆς*: causal genitive (G. 173, 1, N. 2).

— *αὐτοῦ*: pred. gen. of poss. (G. 169, 1). — *μέσῃ τῇ χάρᾳ*: cf. *μέσου τοῦ παραδείσου* in i. 2. 7, and note. — *οὐδέ*: the *οὐ* goes with *δύνασθε ἂν*, the *δέ* (*even*) with *ἐλ . . . ὑμῖν*. — *παρέχοι*: sc. *ἀποκτείναι*.

12. *ἐι μή, except, after a neg.* Cf. i. 4. 18; i. 5. 6. — *ἔχοντες = εἰ ἔχομεν* (G. 226, 1). — *ἂν*: with *χρῆσθαι* (G. 246). So the *ἂν* that follows belongs to *στερηθῆναι*, and *παραδόντες = εἰ παραδοίμεν*.

Page 39. — *μή*: the neg. with the imperative is always *μή* (G. 283, 2). — *παραδόναν*: sc. *ἡμᾶς* as subject, which would have been expressed if *ἡμῖν* had not preceded.

13. *Ἄλλὰ . . . ἀχάριστα*: ironical. On *Ἄλλὰ*, see § 4. When Phalinos calls him a "philosopher," he means to stigmatize his remarks about *ἀρετή* and *ἀγαθὰ* as impractical. The literal meaning of *φιλό-σοφος*? — *ἂν, that you are* (G. 280). — *περιγενέσθαι ἂν, could* (under any circumstances) *prove superior* (G. 246; 226, 2 b). — *δυνάμει*: case (G. 175, 2).

14. *ἔφασαν*: Xenophon writes as if he had not himself been present. — *λέγειν*: cf. *λέγειν* in i. 9. 23, and note. — *ὑπο-μαλακισμένους, losing courage somewhat (ὑπό)*. The underlying word is *μαλακός, soft*. For *ὑπό*, see G. 191, VI. 7, end. — *τί* (G. 188, 1, N. 2): cf. i. 3. 18, and note. — *συγκαταστρέφειν*: *ἂν*: serving loosely as an apodosis to the first protasis also, *εἴτε θάλοι*, but belonging more fitly to the second.

15. *εἴ, whether* (G. 282, 4). — *ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶναι*: periphrastic perfect (G. 118, 1). Why opt.? — *Οὔτοι*: in partitive appos. to the phrase *ἄλλος ἄλλα* (G. 137, N. 2). — *ἄλλος ἄλλα, some one thing, others another*, lit. *another other things*. Cf. *ἄλλοι ἄλλως* in i. 6. 11, and *ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν* in i. 10. 13, and the notes. — *λέγεις, mean, intend*.

16. The sparring that follows to the end of the chapter shows much Greek humor. — *ἔσμενο*: (G. 138, N. 7). — *οἶμαι . . . πάντες, and all the rest also, I think*. *οἶμαι* is parenthetic and does not affect the construction. — *ἡμῆς*: sc. *Ἕλληνες ἔσμεν*. — *πράγμασι*: cf. i. 1. 11.

17. *ὅ τι*: the antecedent of this word is a cogn. acc. to *συμβούλευσον, give us whatever advice, etc.* — *ἔπειτα*: to be how construed? — *λεγόμενον* (by conjecture for *ἀναλεγόμενον*), *ὅτι Φαλίνος, κ. τ. λ.*: *when reported as follows, viz. "Phalinos once," etc.* (G. 241, 2, Note). — *συμβουλευόμενος συνεβούλευσεν*: why a difference in voice? The same distinction above. — *τάδε, the following advice* (G. 148, N. 1), would be followed by the actual advice, if the report should ever be made in Greece. What sort of an accusative is *τάδε*? — *ὅτι ἀνάγκη* (sc. *ἔστι*), *that it is inevitable*.

18. *ὑπ-ήγετο, craftily (ὑπό) suggested this*. — *εὐλαπίδες*: declined like *ἐλαπίς* (G. 66, N. 3). — *ὑπο-στρέφας, turning adroitly, avoiding the trap*. — *παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, contrary to what he had expected* (G. 191, VI. 4, 3 d).

19. εἰ . . . ἔστι, if you have one chance in ten thousand (G. 77, 2, n. 32). — σωθῆναι: limits ἑλπίς, to be supplied with πᾶσι (G. 261, 1). In the second line below, the noun σωτηρίας is used in the same sense. — ἄκοντος: used almost like a *participle*. Cf. i. 3, 17, and note.

Page 40. — 20. πρὸς ταῦτα: cf. § 11. — Ἀλλά: cf. § 4, and note. — ταῦτα: cf. with τὰς in the next line (G. 148, n. 1). Cf. also § 21, beginning. — ἡμεῖς: emphatic, opposing what the Greeks thought to what the King had demanded (§ 8). — εἶναι: sc. ἡμᾶς as subj. — πλείονος (G. 178, n.). — ἔχοντες: a second protasis (G. 228, 1) to ἂν εἶναι, which is quoted (G. 246): see note on ἔχοντες and παραδόντες in § 12.

21. αὐτοῦ: adv. — ὅτι . . . εἴησαν, that there was (not would be) a truce, etc., the direct form being μένουσι (partic., sc. ὑμῖν, = ἢν μένῃτε) σπονδαί εἰσιν, there is a truce for you (i. e. for you to depend on), if you remain (G. 223). See § 22. Ἦν μένων. Cf. below, σπονδαί εἰσιν after μέναι. — εἰπατε: imperative of the first aor. εἶπα, not of the second aor. εἶπον. See the lexicon, and the Appendix to G., s. v. εἶπον. — πότῃ . . . ἦ: cf. § 10. — ὥς . . . ἀγγεῖω, shall I announce from you that there is war? lit. assuming that there is war, shall I announce it from you? (G. 280, n. 4, ex.).

22. ταῦτά: not ταῦτα. — εἴπε: sc. δοκεῖ. — ἀπεκρίνατο: note the asyndeton. — σπονδαί: sc. εἰσιν (see note on § 21).

23. ὃ τι ποιήσῃ (indirect quest.): the fut. opt. is never used except as the representative of the fut. indicative in indirect discourse (G. 203, n. 3).

## CHAPTER II.

SYNOPSIS: Phalinus departs; and Chirisophus and a messenger return from Ariaeus, who refuses to be made king, and again tells the Greeks that he shall set out early next morning (1). Clearchus declines to say whether they will join him or not (2). At sunset he tells the generals and captains that the sacrifices were extremely favorable for joining Ariaeus (3), and gives directions how they shall proceed (4). From this time on, Clearchus assumes virtual command (5). Computation of distances (6). Miltocythes deserts to the King (7). The Greeks join Ariaeus about midnight, and give and receive pledges of good faith (8, 9). Ariaeus shows that it will not do for them to return as they came (10, 11), and adds that at first they must make their marches as long as possible (12). At daybreak they begin their march northward (13). In the afternoon they think they see the enemy's cavalry (14); but scouts bring back word that what they see are only beasts of burden, and it is concluded that the King is encamping near by (15). Clearchus nevertheless advances straight on, and encamps in certain villages (16). In the darkness and confusion the Greeks make much noise and frighten the enemy (17), of whom, on the next day, no traces are to be seen (18). During the night the Greeks also suffer a panic (19). Clearchus by a stratagem succeeds in quieting them, and at daybreak they again fall into line (20, 21).

1. αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαίου: cf. αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ in iv. 3, 28. Glus also remained: cf. ii. 1, 3, 5. -- ὁ γὰρ, φάτις: the first takes a clause with



ἔτι, the second the inf. (G. 260, N. 1). — βελτίους, of higher rank. — οὕς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχοῦσθαι: for οὐ οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο, a rel. clause with the inf. by assimilation (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος: pred. part. after a verb of *enduring* (G. 279, 1). For the case see G. 171, 2. Cf. further *Moods and Tenses*, § 112, 2, N. 2. — ἀλλ' εἰ κ. τ. λ.: a change to the direct discourse. — ἤδη, immediately. — εἰ δὲ μὴ, otherwise, i. e. if you do not come, = ἂν δὲ μὴ ἤκητε. See § 2. In such alternatives, εἰ δὲ μὴ is regularly used in the second clause, even when a subjunctive or an affirmative verb would be required if the ellipsis were supplied. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 52, 1, N. 2. — αὐτός (G. 138, N. 8), himself, adj. pron. emphasizing the omitted subj. of ἀπείναι, which is fut. in force (G. 200, N. 3 b).

2. οὕτω: with ref. to what follows as well as to what precedes. — χρὴ ποιεῖν: sc. ἡμᾶς, referring to both Greeks and barbarians. — ὥσπερ λέγετε: understand before this χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἦκειν τῆς νυκτός. — εἰ δὲ μὴ: see note on εἰ δὲ μὴ in § 1. — πράττετε is more animated than χρὴ ἡμᾶς πράττειν would have been. — ὅποιόν τι: τι adds to the indefiniteness of ὅποιον, whatsoever. — οὐδέ, i. e. not even to the friendly barbarians, just as before he had sent Philinus off without satisfying him (ii. 1. 23, end).

3. ἔναι: purpose (G. 265). Construe with οὐκ ἐγένετο, did not result (favorably) for going. This phrase is interpreted by καλὰ ἦν at the end of the section. — ἄρα, as it seems. — ἐν μέσῳ, between. Cf. i. 7. 6, and note. — ναυοῖ-πορος (G. 131, 1, N.).

Page 41. — οὐ μὲν δή, nor yet indeed. — γέ: force? — οἶόν τε: sc. ἔστιν, is it possible (G. 151, N. 4<sup>2</sup>). — ἔστιν: accent!

4. δειπνεῖν: explanatory of ὡς ποιεῖν. The infinitive const. changes to the imperative in συσκευάζεσθε κ. τ. λ. Cf. πράττετε in § 2, and note. — σημήνην: cf. ἐσάλπιγγε in i. 2. 17, and note. — ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι (with σημήνην), shall give the signal for going to rest (G. 266, N. 1). — τὸ δεῦτερον: cogn. acc. to σημήνην to be supplied. — ἀνατίθεσθε: mid. (G. 199, 3). — ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ, at the third signal. — τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, the van (neut.) = τοῖς ἡγουμένοις. — πρὸς, towards: note that the genitive follows (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a). — τὰ ὅπλα = τοὺς ὁπλίτας. Cf. ἀσπίς in i. 7. 10.

5. τὸ λοιπόν: adv. (G. 160, 2). — δεῖ: sc. φρονεῖν.

6. This entire section is thought by many to be an interpolation. — ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ, amount of the way, distance. — τῆς Ἰωνίας, in Ionia (G. 167, 6). — μάχης, scene of the battle, battle-field. So below. — εἰλόγοντο εἶναι, there were said to be, it was said that there were.

7. ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, when it became dark (G. 134, N. 1 c). Cf. ἡμέρα ἐγένετο in § 13, and ὅψις ἦν in § 16. — εἰς, ὡς: cf. note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

8. τοῖς ἄλλοις: dative (G. 184, 3) after ἡγήετο in place of the genitive (G. 171, 3). — κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, in accordance with his previous instructions. For these see § 4. — παρὰ Ἀριατον: why acc.? — μέσας νύκτας: cf. note on i. 7. 1. — ἐν ... ὅπλα, halting under arms in line of battle. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. ἑλμένοι modifies the following nominatives, the officers being said to halt when they order their men to do so. — οἱ κράτιστοι, the highest in rank. Cf. βελτίους in § 1. — μήτε ... τέ, not only not

... *but also*: the correlatives are merely *τε . . . τε* — *προδέσσειν, ἵσθαι, ἡγήσασθαι*: quoted (G. 202, 3 a). — *προς-έμοσαν, swore besides* (G. 191, VI. 6, end).

9. *εἰς ἀσπίδα*, i. e. the blood was caught in the hollow of a shield. — *οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ βάρβαροι*: subjects of *έμοσαν*.

10. *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο*, *but when the pledges had been given* (aor. with force of plup.); with the pledge here given (an oath and offering) cf. ii. 3. 28, where the pledge is an oath and the giving and taking of the right hand, and iv. 8. 7, where it is an oath and the exchange of spears.

Page 42. — *πότερον . . . ἤ*: how used? — *ήνπερ*: sc. *ὀδόν*, and for the construction of this accusative with *ἤλθομεν*, cf. note on *ὀδόν* in i. 2. 20.

11. *ἀπίνοντες*: prot. = *ἐλ ἀπίομεν* (G. 226, 1). — *παντελώς*, *utterly*, der. from *παν-τελής* (τέλος). — *ἐπὶ λυμοῦ*: cf. i. 5. 5, and note. — *ἐπάρχα ἡμῖν*, *we have to depend on*: for the meaning of *ἐπάρχω*, cf. note on i. 1. 4. — *οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδίων*, *nothing in the way of provisions*. — *ἐπτακαίδεκα γάρ*: *γάρ* is doubly related, introducing not only a ground for *παντελώς . . . ἀπολοιμένα*, but also one of the causes of *ἐπάρχα . . . ἐπιτηδίων*. — *σταθμός*: the *σταθμός* is here looked upon as a period of time. Cf. for the case of *ἡμερῶν* in i. 7. 18. — *ἐγγυτάτω*: adj. (G. 141, N. 3; 142, 2). — *ἐνθα*, *there*. — *νῦν δ' ἐπισκοοῦμεν*, i. e. I and those with me. *νῦν δὲ* corresponds to *ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν, and τῶν δ'* . . . *ἀπορήσομεν* to *μακροτέραν μὲν*. — *μακροτέραν*: sc. *ὀδόν*; cf. note on *ήνπερ* in § 10. — *ἐπιτηδίων*: why genitive?

12. *πορευτόν*: sc. *ἐστί* (G. 281, 2). — *σταθμούς*: cognate acc. to *πορευτόν*, *we must make our first marches*, lit. *march our first marches*. — *ὥς . . . μακροτάτους*, *as long as possible*. Cf. note on i. 1. 6, and *ὥς πλείστον* just below. *μακροτάτους* is predicate (cf. G. 142, 3). — *ἀποσπασθῶμεν*: explain the accent and mood. — *στρατεύματος*: why genitive? — *ἀπαξ*: cf. note on i. 9. 10. — *δύο*: here indeclinable (G. 77, 1, N. 1). — *ἡμερῶν*: gen. of measure (G. 167, 3). — *ἀπόσχωμεν*: why subj.? — *οὐκ ἐτι μὴ δύνηται*: emphatic fut. affirmation (G. 257). — *στρατεύματι*: dat. of accompaniment (G. 188, 5), equiv. to *ἐὰν ἔχη ὀλίγον στράτευμα*, corresp. to *πολὸν δ' ἔχων* (below) = *ἐὰν ἔχη*. — *σπανίαι*: fut. of *σπανίζω* (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — *ἐγωγε* is expressed for emphasis, and further emphasized by *γέ* and by its position.

13. *Ἦν δυναμένη*, *amounted to, meant*: *οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη* stands like a pred. adjective after *ἦν*, the expression differing little from *ἐδύνατο*. — *στρατηγία*, *plan of operations*. — *ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν*: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. — *τὸν ἥλιον, ἥλιω*: cf. note on *ἥλιω* in ii. 1. 3. — *τοῦτο*: cf. *ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο* in i. 8. 11, and note.

14. *ἐτι δέ*, *but furthermore*. — *δεῖλην*: cf. note on i. 8. 1. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*: depends on the omitted (indefinite) antecedent of *οἱ* (G. 152). — *οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον*: a conditional relative clause (G. 232, 1; 231, end).

15. *εἰσιν, νέμονται*: partial change of mood in quotation. Cf. note on i. 10. 5. — *ἐστρατοπεδεύετο*: impf. (not plup.), *was encamping*. — *καὶ γὰρ καὶ*: an unusual connection of particles, *and (they were sure of this) for smoko also*, etc.

16. *ἀπερηκότας*, *were weary*, as pf. of *ἀπ-αγορεύω*, *to renounce, give up*,

*grow weary*: the perf. ἀπ-είρηκα, *to have grown* (and so *to be*) *weary*. Cf. i. 5. 3. — οὐ . . . ἀπέκλινα, *he did not, however, even* (ἐπὶ οὐδέ) *turn aside*, much less retreat.

Page 43. — εὐθύμενον, *straight on*, an uncommon word. — εἰς: with ref. to the previous marching *into* the villages. — καὶ . . . ξύλα, *even the very timbers in (from) the houses* (G. 191, n. 6). Cf. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων in i. 2. 3, and note.

17. ὅμως: notwithstanding the villages had been pillaged. — πρῶτον τινί, *after a fashion*. — σκοταῖοι, *in darkness* (G. 138, n. 7). — ἐτέγγανον: sc. αὐλιζόμενοι. — ὥστε ἀκούειν, *ὥστε ἴφηναι*: in the second case the result is stated as an independent fact, rather than merely as a result (G. 266, 1; 237).

18. καὶ βασιλέως, *even the King*, and not only of ἐκ τῶν σκηνομήτων φεύγοντες. — οἷς (G. 153, with n. 1).

19. τοῖς Ἕλλησι: after the compound verb (G. 187). — οἷον: masculine accusative, subject of γίνεσθαι, *qualem par est fieri*.

20. τῶν τότε: sc. κηρέων. Homer says (*Iliad* v. 786) that Stentor (cf. Eng. *stentorian*), the "brazen-voiced," was able to shout as loud as fifty other men together. — τοῦτον: taking up Τολμίδην. — τὰ ὅπλα: in a Greek camp the arms (heavy shields and spears) were generally stacked in one place. — οὔτι λήψεται: cf. i. 6. 2, and note. — ὅς ἂν μνηστὴρ λήψεται: conditional relative sentence referring vividly to the future (G. 232, 3). — τάλαυτον ἀργυρίου: cf. i. 7. 18.

21. εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι, *to get under arms in (lit. into) line of battle*. Cf. i. 5. 14, and note. — ἥτις εἶχον, *just as they were* (or *stood*). — ἡ μάχη, i. e. *the battle of Cunaxa*.

### CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: At sunrise the King sends heralds to propose a truce (1). Clearchus arranges the army so as to present the most formidable appearance, and, coming forward (2, 3), asks what they want (4). He directs them to tell the King that they must fight first, as the Greeks have had no breakfast (5). The heralds depart, but soon return with word that, if the truce (which is to be general) should be concluded, the Greeks will be furnished provisions (6, 7). Clearchus thinks best to conclude the truce, and commands the heralds to lead the way (8, 9). They come upon ditches and canals, over which they are obliged to construct bridges (10). Clearchus punishes those who loiter, and himself takes part in the work (11), so that the older men also give their assistance (12). Clearchus suspects that the King has flooded the plain with a purpose (13). They arrive at certain villages where they procure provisions (14-16). They remain here three days, and Tissaphernes comes to confer with them (17), and says that he has asked the King to allow him to lead them back to Greece (18, 19), but that the King wishes to know why they took the field against him (20). Clearchus explains how they were drawn into the expedition (21, 22), but says that now, however, they wish simply to return (23). Tissaphernes reports this to the King (24), and on the third day returns saying that the King consents to his leading them home in safety (25). He swears on his part to do this faithfully

and to furnish provisions; and the Greeks swear to do no harm to the country on their way (26-28). Tissaphernes then goes back to the King, promising to return after completing his preparations (29).

1. "Ο . . . ἔγραψα: in ii. 2. 18. — τῷδε, *from what follows* (G. 188, 1; 148, N. 1). — πέμπων: sc. κήρυκας (cf. ii. 1. 7).

2. τοῖς προφύλακας, *the pickets*. — ἐξήτουν: diff. in use between this word and αἰτέω on the one hand and ἐρωτέω on the other? — τυχόν, ἐπισκοπῶν: classify these partic. — εἶπε, *told*. Cf. ἄρα βαρρεῖν in i. 3. 8, and note. — ἀχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ: on the principle of indirect discourse we might have ἀχρι σχολάσῃ (G. 248, 3).

3. κατέστησε, *had drawn up*. — ὥστε . . . πυκνήν, *so that it should be* (G. 266, 2) *well arranged to be seen* (G. 261, 2) *everywhere as a compact line* (i. e. to have this appearance in all parts).

Page 44. — μηδένα: why not οὐδένα? — εἶναι: in the same construction with the preceding ἔχων. — τί, τί: the first τί is correlative to the καί before τοῖς ἄλλοις; the second, to the καί before εὐαδυστάτους. — ταῦτά, i. e. προελθεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

4. πρὸς, *in front of* (G. 191, VI. 6). — ἦκοιεν, *had come*, the direct form is ἦκομεν (G. 200, N. 3) ἄνδρες οὔτινες ἐσόμεθα (G. 247, N. 1). See *Moods and Tenses*, § 74, 1, N. 1.

5. μάχης: genitive of want (G. 172, 1). — ὁ τολμήσων, *the man that will dare* (G. 276, 2), subj. of the preceding ἔστιν. — μὴ πορίσας = ἂν μὴ πορίσῃ (G. 226, 1). — Notice ἀριστον at both beginning and end of the last sentence.

6. φ: the antecedent is the preceding sentence, ἦγον ταχέ. — δοκοῖεν, ἦκοιεν: the direct discourse would show the person of each verb: εἰκότα δοκέει . . . καὶ ἦκομεν . . . οἱ ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξετε. — οἱ . . . ἐπιτήδεια, *who would conduct them* (the purpose for which the guides were brought), *if there should be a truce, to a place* (sc. ἐκείσε) *from which they would get* (the object in view) *provisions*. For this use of the fut. ind. with relative words (here οἱ and ἔνθεν) to express purpose or object, see G. 236, with N. 3. For the partial change of mood in the quoted sentence ὅτι . . . ἐπιτήδεια, see note on ὅτι . . . βασιλεῖ in § 4.

7. εἰ . . . ἀποθύν, *whether he was making a truce merely* (αὐτοῖς) *for the men (as they were) coming and going*, i. e. for the King's envoys. The direct question was σπένδομαι . . . ἢ . . . ἔσονται. — τοῖς ἄλλοις (G. 184, 3 or 4). — διαγγελῇ: why subjunctive? Force of διὰ?

8. μετασπινόμενος, *had them retire, and, etc.* (G. 191, VI. 3, end). — ἰδὲκα ποιέσθαι: cf. ἰδὲκα πορεύεσθαι in i. 2. 1, and note. — καθ' ἥσυχίαν, i. e. without being harassed by the enemy. Force of the suffix in ἥσυχια? — ἐπὶ, *after, in order to get*, involving the idea of purpose, but below, in § 9 at the end, πρὸς in the sense simply of *to*.

9. διατρίψω (sc. χρόνον). — ἀποδόξῃ: why subj.? For the force of ἀπό, cf. ἀποψηφίζονται in i. 4. 15, and note. — καιρός, *proper time*, whereas χρόνος is *time* in general.

10. *οἱ μὲν*: correlated by *Κλέαρχος μὲντοι* — *τάφροις*: cf. for the case, *οἷα*, i. 8. 1. — *αὐλάων*, canals. — *ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι*, so that they were not able, *ὥς* with the inf. to express result (G. 286, π. 1). Cf. i. 5. 10, and note. — *ἔποιούοντο*: sc. *γεφύρας*. — *ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες*: periphrastic pluperfect (G. 118, 4), which makes the idea of *being* on the ground more prominent than that of *falling*.

Page 45. — 11. *Κλέαρχον*... *ἐπιστάται*: lit. *to learn Clearchus well, how he commanded*. Cf. note on *τῶν βαρβάρων*, i. 1. 5, and also i. 6. 5. — *τὸ δόρυ*, his spear, but in the next line *βακτηρίαν*, a staff or stick, without the art., because the staff was no part of his regular equipment as a soldier. Give the stem from which *βακτηρία* is derived. — *εἰ δοκοίη*: why opt.? — *τὸν ἐπιτήδεον*: sc. *παῖαν* (G. 281, 1). — *ἔπαισαν ἄν*: an iterative aorist (G. 206). For the use of the stick in Spartan military discipline, see i. 5. 11, and note. — *αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν*, took hold himself. — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7): the *μὴ* negatives the following inf. regularly; the *οὐ* (here very irregular) strengthens the neg. idea underlying *αἰσχύνην εἶναι*, were ashamed, were un-willing (*Moods and Tenses*, § 95, 2, π. 1, Rem.).

12. *πρὸς*: cf. i. 9. 20. It is doubtful whether we should read *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτό*. MSS. *αὐτόν*. — *οἱ*... *γεγονότες* here must mean *those that were thirty years old and less*, which would regularly be *οἱ εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη* (as in vii. 3. 46). For the case of *ἔτη*, see G. 161. — *σπουδάζοντα*, in earnest. — *προσελάμβανον*: cf. § 11.

13. *ὑποπιπνύν*: cf. i. 1. 1, and note. — *μὴ*: in the direct form *οὐ* (G. 242, 4). — *ἔρδειν*: with *οἷα* (sc. *τοιαύτη*), on the principle of G. 261, 1: *it was not the proper season for watering*, etc. Cf. *Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, π. 1. — *ἤδη*, forthwith, at the very start. — *εἰς*, with reference to, for. — *τοῦτου ἔνικα*: taking up *ἵνα προφαίνουτο*. Cf. G. 215, Rem. — *ἀφαικνίαι*: see *ἀφήμι*.

14. *δδεν*: cf. ii. 1. 3, and note, and below, § 16. As an adverb *δδεν* goes with *λαμβάνειν*; as a relative it introduces the sentence. — *ἀπέδειξαν λαμβάνειν*, gave them notice to take. — *οἶνος φοινίκων*, palm wine. Cf. i. 5. 10. — *ὄξος*... *αὐτῶν*, a sour (cf. *ὄξύς*) drink made from the same by boiling (*ἔψω*, to boil).

15. *αἰτὰ αἱ βάλανος*, the dates themselves (opposed to the wine, etc.), in partitive appos. (G. 137, π. 2). — *τοῖς οἰκέταις*: with *ἀπέκριντο* (G. 184, 3). *οἰκέτης*, from *νοκος* (G. 129, 2 b), properly a house-servant. — *ἀπέκριντο*, were set apart; equiv. to pass. of *ἀπετίθεσθαι*, below. — *καλλούς*: gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — *ἡλέκτρον*: abridged for *ἡλέκτρον ὄψων*. Cf. the similar case explained in G. 186, π. 2. — *τὰς δὲ τινες*, but some (*τινάς*) others. — *τραγήματα*, for sweetmeats, to be eaten at dessert (G. 137, π. 4). — *καὶ ἦν*... *ἡδὺ μὲν*, and these (the *τραγήματα*, G. 135, 2) were a palatable thing (G. 138, π. 2 c) also at a symposium (*πότον*, not *ποτόν*). — *κεφαλ-αλγές*: derivation? See G. 131, 1.

16. *τὸν ἐγ-κέφαλον*, the crown (lit. brain), a large terminal cabbage-like growth at the top of the stem of the palm-tree. — *ἰδιότητα*, peculiar-ity (see G. 129, 7). — *ἡδονή*, flavor. Cf. *ἡδύ*, above. — *ἐξαιρεθείη*: why opt.? *οἷα*, entirely (G. 138, π. 7): we sometimes say. *it all dried up*.

17. ὁ . . . ἀδελφός: note the position of the genitives (G. 142, 1). — γυναικός: by name *Statira*. — αὐτοῖς: case (G. 186). Cf. Ἑλλάδι in the next section.

18. γέτων: predicate nom. to οἰκῶ (G. 136; cf. 137, N. 4). — οἰκῶ: see *Hellen.* iii. 2. 12, *Κασία, ἐνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρους οἶκος*.

Page 46. — πολλὰ κῆμῆχانا (i. e. καὶ ἄμ.), *many difficulties*, lit. *many and inextricable (straws, G. 141, N. 4): ἀμῆχανα = ἐν οἷς οὐδεμία μηχανή. — εὐρημα, a piece of good fortune; from εὐρίσκω (εὐρ-, G. 129, 4). — εἰ δυνάμην: we might have had εἰν δύνωμαι (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, N. 1), as the context implies, I thought it would be a εὐρημα, — οἶμαι . . . ἔχαν, for I think it would not be a thankless labor for me (G. 246). For ἀχαρίστως ἂν ἔχαν, cf. note on i. 1. 5, end. — πρὸς ἑμῶν: as if a passive had preceded in place of ἀχαρίστως ἔχαν.*

19. ἐπιστρατεύοντα: quoted after ἡγγαλα (G. 280). For the fact mentioned, see i. 2. 4. — καὶ μόνος, κ. τ. λ.: cf. i. 10. 7 and 8. — σὺν τοισδε: with a gesture. — αὐτῷ: the King.

20. βουλευέσθαι: what other tenses might be used? (G. 203, N. 2). — εὐ-πρακτότερον: verbal adj. (G. 117, 3) in the comparative. The subj. of εὐπρακτότερον ἢ διαπράξασθαι understood, the διαπράξασθαι expressed being the object of δύνωμαι.

21. μεταστάντες: second aor. Cf. μεταστησάμενος in § 8. — Κλέαρχος δ' ἄλεγε, i. e. *Clearchus was their spokesman. — ὡς βασιλεὶ πολέμησάντες, with the intention of warring with the King (G. 186, N. 1). When, as here, the subject of the leading verb is also the speaker (cf. G. 277, N. 2), ὡς simply emphasizes the cause or purpose denoted by the participle.*

22. The speaker is referring in this section, probably, to the agreement entered into at Thapsacus, i. 4. 11–13. — θεοῖς, ἀνθρώποις: objects of ἡσυχνέθημεν (G. 158, N. 2). The infinitive προδοῦναι is a second obj. of the same verb (G. 260, 1). — παρέχοντες (sc. αὐτῷ), *when we had offered (G. 204, N. 1). — εὖ ποιεῖν: purpose (G. 265; 165, N. 1).*

23. ἐπεὶ: here, *since; above, in § 22, when.* — βασιλεῖ . . . ἀρχῆς: cf. ii. 1. 11. — τὴν χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν: cf. i. 4. 8, and note. Cf. below, ἡμῶς εὖ ποιών. — εἰ τις . . . λυποῖη, i. e. *if no one should molest us: τις is like French on and German man, with no exact English equivalent. — ἀδικοῦντα: sc. τινά, and cf. βουλευομένους in i. 1. 7. — ἡμᾶς . . . ὑπάρχει, shall take the first step also (καὶ) in doing us good (G. 279, 1), καὶ εὖ ποιών emphatically opposed to ἀδικοῦντα. — εὖ ποιοῦντες (G. 277, 2).*

Page 47. — 24. ἦκω: mood? — αἱ . . . μερόντων, *let the truce continue. — ἀγορὰν παρέξομεν, will provide a market, i. e. an opportunity for the Greeks to buy provisions.*

25. εἰς: cf. εἰς ζῶ, i. 7. 1, and note. — διαπεπραγμένος (cf. διαπράξασθαι in § 20): with δοθῆναι as its object. — δοθῆναι αὐτῷ: cf. the corresponding active δοῦναι ἑμοί in § 18. — καίπερ: with the following concessive part. (G. 277, N. 1b). — ἄξιον βασιλεῖ, *befitting the King (G. 185; 184, 2). Cf. G. 178, N.*

26. τέλος: cf. i. 10. 13. — παρέξεν: sc. ἡμᾶς. The inf. is quoted after

the idea of *promising* in πιστά (G. 202, 3 a). So ἀπέξην. — εἶπον δ' ἂν μή : why not οὐ !

27. πορεύεσθαι, ξέν : both quoted after ὁμόσαι. Cf. the two future infinitives in § 26. — ὡς διὰ φίλλας (sc. χώρας), as (you would go) *through a friendly country*.

28. ταῦτα ἔδοξε : cf. note on i. 3. 20. — ἄμοσαν . . . ἔδοσαν : cf. note on πιστά in ii. 2. 10.

29. ὡς βασιλία : cf. i. 2. 4. — διαπράξωμαι, *shall have accomplished*, with future perfect force (*Moods and Tenses*, § 20, n. 1). — ἂ δέομαι : sc. διαπράξασθαι. — ὡς ἀπέξην καὶ ἀπὶν (G. 200, n. 3 b) : cf. note on ὡς πολέμησιν in § 21.

#### CHAPTER IV.

**SYNOPSIS :** The Greeks and Ariaeus remain encamped near each other for more than twenty days, during which time the barbarians receive visits from their friends (1). The Greeks grow uneasy and ask their generals why they remain, and express their suspicions of the King's intentions (2-4). Clearchus answers that it will not do to go away, as that would break the truce and they would be left without provisions, guide, or friends (5); that, moreover, the Euphrates bars their way, and that they have no cavalry (6). He declares his faith in the King's oath (7). Tissaphernes and Orontas arrive with their armies (8). The Greeks proceed with Tissaphernes as guide (9), but are suspicious of the Persians, and march apart from them. Mistrust increases on both sides, and they sometimes come to blows (10, 11). They arrive at the wall of Media (12), and from thence a march of two days brings them to the Tigris. The Greeks encamp near Sitāce, and the barbarians cross the river (13, 14). After supper a man brings a warning from Ariaeus to the Greeks to beware of a night-attack, and to guard the bridge over the Tigris (15-17). Clearchus is greatly alarmed (18); but the story is observed to be inconsistent (19, 20), and after questioning the messenger it is concluded that he has been sent with an ulterior object (21, 22). Nevertheless, a guard is sent to the bridge (23). At daybreak the Greeks cross the bridge (24), and proceed in four days to the river Physcus. Near Opis they are met by an illegitimate brother of the King, who views them as they pass, and is amazed at their number (25, 26). They proceed through Media, plundering the villages of Parysatis (27), and along the right bank of the Tigris, procuring provisions from Caenae, a city across the river (28).

1. αἰκσιν : sc. ημέρας. — οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, *his other relatives* : ἀναγκαῖος (from ἀνάγκη, see G. 129, 12) is the Lat. necessarius. — δεξιός, *assurances*, pledged by the person who brought them with the *right hand*. — μή . . . αὐτοῖς, *that the King would bear them no ill-will* (μνησι-κακήσαν : μνηήσκει, stem μνα-, and κακός). The inf. is quoted after δεξιός; cf. παρέξην in ii. 3. 26. — ἐπιστρατείας : gen. of cause (G. 173, 1). — τῶν παροχόμενων, *of what was past* (G. 200, n. 3).

2. οἱ περὶ Ἀριαεὶν, *Ariaeus and those with him* (G. 141, n. 3). Cf. οἱ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, iii. 5. 1. — ἐνδελοὶ . . . νοῖν, *evidently paid less regard to the Greeks*. For προσέχοντες, cf. ἀνιόμενος in i. 2. 11, and note.

Page 48. — 8.  $\eta$  may introduce the second part of an alternative question (G. 282, 5), even when the former part is only implied (here  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\rho\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ ). Cf. the use of  $\alpha\iota\iota$  in Lat. —  $\pi\alpha\rho\iota$   $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$ : cf.  $\pi\alpha\rho\iota$   $\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$  in i. 9. 7, and note. —  $\eta$ : subj. of purpose (G. 218). The opt. referring to the future has the force of a primary tense (*Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 2). —  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ : dependent on  $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omicron\varsigma$  (G. 261, 1, with  $\kappa$ . 1). We might have had  $\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$  " $\epsilon$ .  $\phi\omicron\beta\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$  . . .  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ . —  $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ : cf. ii. 1. 18. —  $\delta\iota\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\alpha\iota$ : see  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$  and G. 282, 1. —  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\eta$ : cf.  $\delta\iota\alpha\pi\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ , ii. 3. 29. —  $\omicron\iota\kappa$  . . .  $\eta\mu\iota\nu$ , *it is not possible that he will not attack us*, lit. *there is not how* (introducing the indir. quest.) *he will not*, etc. (G. 283, 8).

4.  $\eta$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\chi\iota\zeta\epsilon$ , *is either trenching or walling off some point*. Cf. the use of  $\tau\iota$  in i. 10. 16. —  $\tau\omicron\sigma\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ , *so few*: accent (G. 27, 4). —  $\epsilon\pi\iota$  . . .  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , *at his very doors*.

5.  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\mu\alpha$  =  $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . —  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\alpha$ , *moreover*, introducing  $\pi\acute{\rho}\omega\tau\omicron\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\alpha\upsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , etc. —  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu$ , (*a place*) *from which*. —  $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ : purpose (G. 236). —  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$  and  $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$  (G. 277,  $\kappa$ . 1) both qualify  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$ , which is a future perfect (G. 110, IV. c,  $\kappa$ . 2; 200,  $\kappa$ . 9). Cf. below,  $\lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . —  $\delta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ : sc.  $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$ .

6.  $\pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ : emphatic, as if he had said, *but as to rivers, I don't know whether* ( $\epsilon\iota$ ), etc. —  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ : the verbal in  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  used personally (G. 281, 1). —  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\delta\eta$ : cf. i. 9. 18, and note. —  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , i. e.  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ . —  $\omicron\upsilon$  . . .  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ : implying also, *nor will there be*. —  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  . . .  $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\iota$ , *whereas the enemy's horse are very numerous* (lit. *the most*, compared with those of other nations) *and very efficient*. —  $\nu\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  =  $\epsilon\iota$   $\nu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\epsilon\nu$ ; but  $\eta\tau\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ , to which  $\sigma\omega\theta\eta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$  is apod., =  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$   $\eta\tau\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha$ , or perhaps  $\epsilon\iota$   $\eta\tau\tau\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\alpha$  (see *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 2 b). —  $\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$ : sc.  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ .

7.  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha\chi\alpha$ , *helps*. —  $\delta$   $\tau\iota$ , *on what account* (G. 160, 2; 149, 2<sup>a</sup>). —  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ : repeating  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ . —  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ : cf.  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  in ii. 3. 22, and G. 158,  $\kappa$ . 2.

Page 49. — 8.  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  (G. 277,  $\kappa$ . 2): here the writer and the subj. of the leading verb are not the same person (cf. note on  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in ii. 3. 21, and ii. 3. 29), so that  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\acute{\omega}\nu$  expresses the intention *professed by Tissaphernes*. There is nothing in the use of  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  to indicate the historian's opinion as to the honesty of this profession. See note on  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\theta\eta\theta\eta\sigma\omega\nu$  in § 25. —  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$  =  $\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon$ : see note on  $\omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$  in ii. 3. 18. Besides Caria he now had the satrapy of Cyrus. —  $\eta\gamma\epsilon$ , i. e. Orontas. Cf. iii. 4. 13. —  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$ , *in marriage*, as his wife.

10.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$  . . .  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  [*themselves*] *by themselves*. —  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ : the Greeks and barbarians. —  $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (sc.  $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ ), *just as (if they were guarding against) enemies* (G. 277,  $\kappa$ . 3).

11.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ : sc.  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon$ , and cf. i. 8. 14. —  $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ : cf. i. 5. 11.

12.  $\tau\epsilon\iota\chi\omicron\varsigma$ : mentioned in i. 7. 15. If we suppose that the southern part of this wall, which reached from the Tigris to the Euphrates, was in ruins, it is easy to account, first, for Xenophon's not describing it in i. 7. 15, but here; and, secondly, for the King's digging the ditch for the purpose, on



that assumption, of completing the line of defence furnished by the northern part of the wall. In the retreat Tissaphernes led the Greeks westward on the southern side of the ditch, in order that they should not see the rich plain of Babylonia, and so brought them outside of the wall again, which they now *pass within* (παρήλθον) on their way to the Tigris. — ἦν ἐκδομῆμενον = ἐκδοδόμετο (G. 118, 4). — καίμεναι, *lying*; we say *laid*. — ποδῶν: why gen.? — μήκος δ' ἔλεγτο, *but in length, it was said*, etc.

13. τὴν δ' . . . ἐπτά, *and the other (by its having been) bridged over* (means, G. 277, 2) *with seven boats*. See note on § 24. — ἦσαν ἀπό: cf. εἶναι ἐκ in i. 2. 7. — ἄσπερ: sc. κατατέμνεται.

14. δένδρων: with παράδεισος (G. 167, 4). If it went with δασίος it would be δένδρους (cf. iv. 7. 6). — οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι: sc. ἐσκήνησαν.

Page 50. — 15. ἔτυχον . . . ὄντες, *happened to be walking*. — πρὸ τῶν ἐπλων: cf. note on ii. 2. 20. — οὐκ ἔχῃτε, *did not ask for, ask to see*. — καὶ ταῦτα ὄν: cf. i. 4. 12, and note.

16. ὅτι: introducing direct discourse. Cf. i. 6. 8, end, and note. — ἑπημύνη: agreement (G. 135, N. 1). — πιστοί: cf. note on i. 5. 15. — μὴ ἐπιθῶνται (G. 216).

17. ὡς διανοεῖται, *since T. intends*, etc.; but in the next line ὡς, *in order that*. — τῆς διέρυχος: the second of the two mentioned in § 13; over this there was only a pontoon bridge, which could be destroyed easily.

19. νεανίσκος τις: conjectured to have been Xenophon himself. — οὐκ ἀκόλουθα, *inconsistent*. — τό τε ἐπιθῆσθαι καὶ λύσειν, i. e. *the two stories of an intention to attack, and at the same time to destroy the bridge*: we should expect τὸ also before λύσειν. For the unusual fut. inf. see G. 202, 8 b; also *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2 b. — νικᾶν: sc. αὐτοῦς as subject. — τί δεῖ . . . γέφυραν: *why need they destroy the bridge?* implying *what good will it do them*, etc.? It is thus a proper apod. to the future prot. εἰν . . . νικῶσι (G. 223). — ἄν (i. e. εἰν) ὦσιν, ἔχομεν ἄν: a subj. in the prot. (G. 223), with an opt. with ἄν in the apod. (G. 224), the latter belonging to an implied prot. in the opt., such as, *if we should wish to escape* (G. 227, 1; *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 a<sup>3</sup>). The οὐ in οὐδέ, *not even*, modifies ἔχομεν ἄν, the meaning being, *even if there are (shall be) many bridges, we should not know*, etc. Cf. for this meaning of οὐκ ἔχω, i. 7. 7, and note; and see also οὐχ ἔξουσιν in § 20.

22. ἐπιπέμψαν, *had sent with a false message* (ὑπό): the dir. form was ἐπέπεμψαν (G. 243). — ἐνθεν μὲν, ἐνθεν δέ, *on this side, on that*. — πολλὰς . . . ἐνόντων, *since it was extensive and fertile, and since there were men in it to work it*.

Page 51. — εἰ τις βούλοιο: might have been εἰν τις βούληται (G. 248, N.).

23. ἐπὶ μέντοι . . . ὅμως, *yet they nevertheless*, etc., i. e. notwithstanding that they now knew the man's statements were false. Cf. ii. 2. 17. — ἀπήγγελλον, i. e. the next morning.

24. ἐξευμένην: the Greek could say ζευγνύειν γέφυραν (G. 159), *to build* (lit. *join*) *a bridge*, or ζευγνύειν ποταμόν (or διέρυχα), *to bridge a river* (or

(channel); for the latter see § 13. — *ὡς . . . πεφυλαγμένως*, as guardedly as possible: supply *ἦν* with *ολόν τε* (= *δυνατόν*). — *τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνης* 'Ελ.: cf. *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως*, i. 1. 5, and note. — *διαβαίνοντων* (sc. *αὐτῶν*): we should expect the dat. after *ἐπιθήσεσθαι*, rather than the gen. absolute. In the same way *διαβαίνοντων* occurs in the next line, notwithstanding the following *αὐτοῖς*. — *σκαπῶν*: participle. — *διαβαίνουεν*: in the direct form *διαβαίνουσι* (G. 243), to see whether they were crossing. — *ἔρχετο ἀπελαύνων*, went riding off (G. 279, 4, N.); *ἔρχετο*, lit. was off (G. 200, N. 8).

25. *πλήθρου*: cf. *πλήθρων*, i. 2. 23. — *ἔκειτο*: cf. *οἰκουμένην*, i. 4. 1. — *ἢ ὄνομα ὧτις*: cf. i. 5. 4, and note. — *πρὸς ἦν*: why accusative? — *ὡς βοηθήσων* (G. 277, N. 2): *ὡς* shows only that the partic. gives the purpose which is professed by the subject (*ὁ ἀδελφός*). See note on *ὡς ἀπὸν* in § 8, and on *ὡς πολέμησοντες* in ii. 3. 21. Cf. also i. 1. 11, and note.

26. *εἰς δύο*, two abreast (G. 191, III. 1 c). They marched by in column. — *ἄλλοτε . . . ἐπιστάμενος*, halting now and then. — *τὸ ἡγούμενον* (object): cf. ii. 2. 4, and note. — *ἐπιστήσαι*: why opt.? — *ἐπιστάσιν*: force of the suffix *σις*! — *ἐκπεπληγῆσθαι*: see note on i. 5. 13.

27. *Κόρυς ἐπεγγελών*, insulting Cyrus (G. 184, 2) besides (*ἐπὶ*), i. e. besides gratifying the Greeks. Cf. *ἐπι-λέγειν*, i. 9. 26. — *διαρπάσαι . . . ἐπίτρεψι*: cf. i. 2. 19, and note. — *πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων*, i. e. except that the men in them were not to be made slaves.

## CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: They arrive at the river Zapatas, and Clearchus sends a messenger to Tissaphernes and requests an interview (1, 2). When they meet, Clearchus expresses his hope that they shall be able to dispel the mutual distrust of the Greeks and barbarians (3, 4); mentions cases where great evil has been done through misunderstanding (5, 6); refers to their oaths and the vengeance of the Gods should they break them (7); details the facts which render it necessary for the Greeks to retain the friendship of the Persians (8-12), and the advantages to the barbarians of an alliance with his Greek army (13, 14); and finally he asks to know who has excited the suspicions against them (15). Tissaphernes assures Clearchus that the Greeks have no cause for distrust (16), showing how completely they are in the power of the Persians (17-19), and how unnecessary it would be for the latter to resort to perjury if they wished to destroy their former enemies (20, 21). He expresses great personal friendship for the Greeks, and hints at an especial service they may do for him (22, 23). Clearchus believes him sincere, and when he promises to disclose the names of those who have sought to create distrust between them, if Clearchus with the rest of the generals will come to him, the Greek general consents (24-26). The next day he returns to camp and states what has been agreed upon, and, though opposed by some of the soldiers, finally persuades five of the generals and twenty captains to accompany him (27-30). The generals are invited to enter the tent of Tissaphernes, and not long after they are seized and those without murdered (31, 32). Nicarchus alone escapes, and flees terribly wounded to the Greeks (33), who run to arms (34). Ariaeus with 300 Persians approaches the camp, and calls for some general or captain (35, 36). Cleanor, Sophanetus, and Xen-

ophon come forward (37). Ariaeus tells them that Clearchus, having violated the truce, is dead, but that Proxenus and Menon are in great honor, and that the King demands their arms (38). In answer Cleanor reproaches him for his treachery, and Xenophon skilfully asks that Proxenus and Menon may be sent to the Greeks to advise them (39-41). The barbarians leave without making answer (42).

Page 59. — 1. ὑποψίαι, *feelings of distrust*. — φανερά, pred. to ἐφαίνετο, is specially opposed to ὑποψίαι.

2. Τισσαφέρναι: cf. τοῦτο in i. 1. 9. — εἰ δύναιτο, κ. τ. λ. (G. 248, 2), *in case he could in any way stop*, etc. The apod., suggested by παύσαι, would be ἢνα παύσαι or the like. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 53, n. 2, for further details of this important construction. — πρὶν γενέσθαι (G. 274). — ἐρεθῆναι (G. 277, 3).

3. Τισσαφέρνῃ: a *heteroclitē* voc. (G. 60, 1 b). — ἀδικήσαν: cf. μηχανήσαν in ii. 4. 1, and note. — φυλαττομενον ἡμᾶς, *are on your guard against us* (G. 280). — ὡς πολεμίους, *as (you would be against) an enemy*.

4. οὐ δύναμαι οὕτε: we should expect οὕτε δύναμαι to correspond to ἡγέτεσθα. See note on μήτε . . . τε in ii. 2. 8. — παύρομενον (G. 280). — οὐ . . . οὕτεν, *that we on our part do not even think of any such thing* (G. 280, n. 3). — εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν, *to have an interview with you* (G. 186, n. 1, end). — εἰ δυναίμεθα (G. 248, n.). Cf. § 2. — ἀλλήλων (G. 174).

5. ἐκ, *in consequence of*. — οἱ . . . ἐποίησαν: we should expect φοβηθέντας . . . βουλομένους . . . ποιήσαντας (G. 280), but such an accumulation of participles would be harsh. — φθάσαι: sc. ποιήσαντές τι (G. 279, 4). — μέλλοντας, *intending*, transitively. — αἶ, i. e. *what is more*.

6. ἀγνωμοσύνας, *misunderstandings* (G. 129, 7).

7. πρῶτον . . . μέγιστον, *for first and chiefly*. Cf. i. 3. 10. The correl. of μέν is δέ in § 8. — θεῶν (G. 167, 3), *oaths (sworn) by the Gods*, as we say ὁμνύναι θεούς. — εἶναι (G. 263, 1). — τούτων, i. e. τῶν θεῶν ὅρκων (G. 171, 2). — παρημεληκώς (G. 280, n. 2): cf. ἀφυσμένος, i. 3. 10, and note. — τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον, *the Gods' war* (G. 167, 2). — ἀπό, *with, by the aid of*. — φεύγων, *flying*; but ἀποφύγει ἄν, *could make his escape*. For ἀποφύγει and ἀποδράει, cf. i. 4. 8, and note.

Page 58. — ὅπως . . . ἀποσταίη, *how he could retire to a strong place*, i. e. to a place that would prove really ἔχυρόν against the Gods. For the three apod. with prot. implied, see G. 226, 2 b. — πάντα πάντα: cf. πάντων πάντα in i. 9. 2, and the πανταχῇ πάντων following. — θεοῖς (G. 185; 184, 2). With this section compare *Psalms* cxxxix. 7-12.

8. περὶ μὲν δὴ: μὲν is repeated from πρῶτον μὲν in § 7. — παρ' οἷς (i. e. τοῖς θεοῖς) . . . κατεθέμεθα, *in whose hands we have deposited the friendship which we have compacted*. — τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων, *but of human things* (G. 168). — ἐν τῷ παρόντι, *in the present crisis*.

9. πᾶσα ὁδός, *every road*; but following, πᾶσα ἡ ὁδός, *all the way*. — αὐτῆς: with οὐδέν. — φοβερότατον (G. 188, n. 2 c).

10. ἄλλο τι (sc. ποιούμεν) ἂν ᾔ: ἄλλο τι ᾔ or the simple ἄλλο τι is

equivalent in asking a question to *οὐ σ' ἀρα εἶ*, Lat. *nonne* (G. 282, 3). — *εὐ-εργέτην*, *eune-factor* (suff. *τα-*). — *ἐφεδρον*, a *fresh opponent*, a *successor in the contest*, prop. of an odd combatant in the public games, who remained without an adversary when the others had been paired by lot, and *sat by* (*ἐπὶ* and *ἐβρα*) ready to engage (of course at a great advantage) with any athlete who should beat his adversary. — *ταῦτα* repeats the indirect question.

11. *τῶν τότε* (G. 141, n. 3<sup>a</sup>). — *δὲν βούλοιντο* (G. 247; 233) might be *δὲν δὲν βούληται*. — *ἐχοντα, σάζοντα, οὐσαν* (G. 280). — *ἦ . . . ἐχρήτο*, *which Cyrus found hostile*. — *ταύτην*: repeating *τὴν . . . δύναμιν* with emphasis.

12. *τούτων . . . ὅντων*, *but since this is so*. — *ὅστις σὸ βούλεται*: result (G. 237, n.). — *ἀλλὰ μὴν* begins the sent. as if the parenthesis *ὅρῳ . . . εἶναι* were to be followed by a sentence like *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ ἀφελὲν δυνήσμεθα*. (Krüger.) This is really said in other words in § 13 and § 14.

13. *οὗς νομίζω δὲν παρασχέιν*, *whom I think I could render* (*παρασχοίμην δὲν*): cf. i. 3. 6. So *παῖσαι δὲν* (G. 184, 3). — *δὲν-οχλοῦντα*, *disturbing*, lit. *crowding* (*ὄχλος*) *υποκ* (G. 279, 1). — *εἰς*: with *τεθωμεμένους*, *incensed* (G. 184, 2). — *κολάσασθε*: doubtful emendation for *καλάσασθε*, made on acc. of *δὲν* (G. 208, 2). — *τῆς . . . σέως* = *ἡ τῇ . . . σέω*.

14. *ὡς μέγιστος* (sc. *φίλος*), *the very greatest*: cf. *ὅτι ἀπαρκεσμένωτερον*, i. 1. 6. — *ἐχὼν ὑπερέτας* = *εἰ ἔχουσ*, κ. τ. λ.: additional protasis to both *δὲν εἴης* and *δὲν ἀναστρέφω*. — *τῆς χάριτος*: with *ἔμεκα*. — *ἦν δὲν ἔχου-μεν: χάριν ἔχω* is exactly the Lat. *gratiam habeo*: cf. note on i. 4. 15.

15. *οὕτω θαυμαστόν*, *so surprising*. — *τοῖνομα τίς*: a mingling of two constructions, *ἦδιστ' δὲν ἀκούσαιμι τίς*, κ. τ. λ., and *τοῖνομά τιος ὅστις*, κ. τ. λ. Rehdantz, however, explains the words: *I would gladly hear by name, who is so skilled*, etc. — *ἀπημείβεθι*, *replied*, a form found only here. It reminds us of *ἀπαμαβόμενος* and *ἀμαίβετο* in Homer.

16. *Ἀλλὰ*: cf. ii. I. 4, and note. — *ἦδομαι ἀκούων*: cf. *ἦσθι ἰδόν*, i. 2. 18. — *ἀκούων σου λόγους* (G. 171, 2, n. 1). — *γινώσκων*, *since you know*.

Page 54. — *μοι δοκεῖς* must be translated impersonally, *it seems to me*, in order to bring in *καλένους δὲν εἶναι*, *that you would be evil-minded*, in English. We cannot use *would*, or any equivalent of *δὲν*, with the infinitive. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 92, 2, n. 2. — *ὡς δὲν μάθης* (G. 216, n. 2).

17. *εἰ ἐβουλόμθα*, *supposing it was our wish*, i. e. when we made the treaty (G. 221); to this the apod. is *ἀπορεῖν* (= *ἀποροῦμεν*) quoted after *δοκοῦμεν*. Cf. *ἀπορεῖν δὲν* in § 18, and note. — *ἐν ᾗ*, *by means of which*. — *ἀντιπάσχειν*: with *κίνδυνος* (G. 261, 1); sc. *εἴη δὲν*.

18. *ἐπιτρέσθαι*: with *ἐπιτηδεῶν*. — *ἀπορεῖν δὲν* (= *ἀποροῦμεν δὲν*): cf. note on § 16, and *ἀπορεῖν* in § 17, and note. — *τοσαῦτα*: with a gesture. — *δντα*, *though they are*. — *ὑμῖν δντα πορευτά*, *must be crossed by you*, quoted after *ὁπάτε* (G. 280): direct form, *ὑμῖν πορευτά ἵστιν* (G. 281, 1). Cf. with the active of this const., *δρη πορεύεσθαι*, the note on *ἰδόν* in i. 2. 20. — *ταμείεσθαι*, *to parcel out*, like a steward (*ταμίης*), and so *to have by themselves, to deal with at once*, etc.; sc. *τοσοῦτους*, antec. of *ὁπότερος*.

19. *ἀλλά, still*. — *δὲν κατακαύσαντες* (causal). — *οἷδ' εἰ*, *not even if*: the *οἷ* goes with *δὲν δύνασθε*; the *δέ* (*even*), with the conditional clause.

20. ἔχοντες: conditional (note in the next line *μηδένα*) = εἰ ἔχομεν. For εἰ ἔχομεν ἐξολομέθα ἂν, see G. 227, 1. — ἔπατα: cf. εἶτα in i. 2. 25, and note. — πῶς ἂν . . . ἂν ἐξολομέθα (G. 212, 2). — πρὸς (G. 191, VI. 6, 1 a).

21. παντάπασι . . . ἐστὶ, but it is characteristic of (belongs to, G. 169, 1) those altogether without resources. — καὶ τούτων, and that too: cf. καὶ ταῦτα in i. 4. 12. — οἵτινες ἐθελουσι: used as if ἀποροὶ εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ. preceded; we should expect simply ἐθελειν, to be willing. Cf. ὅστις . . . αἰρέται in place of αἰρεῖσθαι simply, in ii. 6. 6.

22. ἔξόν, when it was possible, acc. absolute (G. 278, 2). — οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν, did we not proceed to do it? — ἔρω, earnest desire: sc. ἐστὶ. — τούτου refers to οὐκ . . . ἤλθομεν. — τὸ . . . ἰσχυρόν: the whole infin. clause stands as an object acc. after the verbal idea in ἔρω: trans. my desire that I may secure the confidence of the Greeks (cf. note on i. 7. 4, end), and with that mercenary force (G. 154) with which (G. 188, 5) C. made his expedition . . . with this (τούτῳ) I may return to the coast, etc. μισθοδοσίας and εἰσργασίας (see G. 129, 3) are accusatives.

23. ὅσα: with χρήσιμοι (G. 160, 1). — ἐστὶ, are by anticipation, and so for ἔσονται. — τὰ μὲν . . . εἶπας, some you also have mentioned. — τιάραν: a steeple-shaped head-dress of distinguished Persians, worn upright (ἐρθήν) only by the King; when worn by others, the point was bent forward. — τὴν δ' . . . ἔχοι (sc. ἐρθήν): as it was the outward sign of royalty to wear the tiara upright on the head, so wearing it upright in the heart means aspiring to royal dignity, i. e. bearing the royal symbol in the heart, though not on the head. T. thus intimates his intention to revolt from the King by the aid of the Greeks, in order to blind Clearchus to his real plans.

Page 55. — 24. εἶπεν: repeated in ἐφη. — οὐκοῦν, therefore, in questions implies an affirm. answer, and is generally to be rendered by *not then?* — τοιούτων ὑπαρχόντων, when such grounds exist. — παθεῖν (G. 261, 1).

25. οἱ . . . λοχαγοί: in app. to the subj. of βούλεσθε. — ἴλεθιν ἐν τῷ ἑμφανέι, i. e. so that it shall be apparent to both armies that we trust one another. Cf. ἐν τῷ φανερό in i. 3. 21.

26. σοί (accented) is emphatic. — αὐ, in turn. — ὅθεν, from what quarter. 27. ἐκ, after, in consequence of, Germ. in Folge. Cf. i. 3. 11. — δηλὸς τ' ἦν οἰόμενος: cf. i. 2. 11. — πάντῳ φιλικῶς διακίεσθαι, that he was on very friendly terms with. — ἐκέλευσε (subj. Τισσ.): sc. ἴνα. — οἱ ἂν ἀνεχθῶσι: the verb might have been in what other mood? Could ἐκέλευσε have been so changed? See G. 247, with n. 2. — διαβάλλοντες (G. 280). — τῶν Ἑλλήνων: with οἱ. — οἱ . . . αὐτοῖς: cf. ἐν . . . αὐτόν in i. 9. 29: αὐτοῖς is added for emphasis.

28. αὐτῷ, i. e. Clearchus. — ὅπως . . . ᾗ (G. 216, 2).

29. ἔχεν τὴν γνώμην, to be devoted. — τοὺς παραλυπούντας, troublesome rivals (note the prep. in comp.). — μὴ ἰέναι, μηδὲ πιστεῖν (G. 260, 1): the underlying idea is that of a command, not that of a statement of fact.

30. ἰσχυρῶς κατέτανεν, insisted strenuously. — ἔσπευ διεπράξαντο (G. 239, 1). — ὅς εἰς ἀγρόν, i. e. without arms.

Page 56. — 32. οἱ ἑνδον, οἱ ἔξω (G. 141, N. 3<sup>2</sup>). — φημι πάντας: cf. i. 1. 5, and note.

33. ἰππασίαν: force of the suff. — ἡμφεγγόνουν (G. 105, 1, N. 3). — εἰς τὴν γαστέρα: the accusative with reference to the motion of the weapon.

36. εἰ τις . . . λοχαγός, i. e. *whatever general or captain there was* (G. 248, 1), direct εἰ τις ἔστιν, suggests the subject of προσελθεῖν. — ἀπαγγεῖλαι: why subjunctive?

37. τῶν Ἑλλήνων: depending on the proper names. — στρατηγοὶ μὲν, σὺν αὐτοῖς δέ: the first two are contrasted, as generals, with Xenophon. — Ξενοφῶν: cf. iii. 1. 4 sq. — τὰ περὶ, *the fate of*.

38. ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπὶ κοον, *got within hearing distance*. — ἐπιτορκῶν, λῶν: with ἐφάνη (G. 280). — ἔχε τὴν δίκην, *has received his deserts*. — αὐτοῦ (G. 142, 4, N. 3). — ἀπαυαί (G. 164). — ταυτοῦ (G. 169, 1). — εἶναι: sc. τὰ ἔπλα. — δοῦλον: cf. i. 7 3, and note.

39. Πλεῖς δὲ Κλαδίωρ: cf. ii. 1. 10. — Ὀρχομένιος, of Orchomenus, an ancient city of Arcadia, called πολύμηλος by Homer (II. ii. 605). — οἱ ἄλλοι: in app. to ἡμεῖς understood, *you others*. Cf. § 25. — θεούς, ἀνθρώπους: cf. ii. 3. 22, and note. — οἵτινες ἀπολαλέκατε, ἔρχεσθε: causal (G. 238). — ἡμῖν: with ὁμώσαντες; cf. *ols*, below. — τοὺς αὐτοὺς (sc. ἡμῖν), *the same that we should*: the position of ἡμῖν expressed forbids its being taken with τοὺς αὐτοὺς. — φάους καὶ ἐχθροὺς (G. 137, N. 4). — νομεῖν (G. 110, II. 2, N. 1c).

Page 57. — τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς, *the rest of us*.

40. γάρ, (we are not that) *for*. — ἐπιβουλεύων: cf. i. 6. 8.

41. ἐπὶ τούτοις, *upon this*. — εἰ . . . ἔλκει (G. 221). — Προξένος, Μένων: in emphatic position before ἐπείπερ: we should render, *but as to P. and M., since indeed they are*, etc. — εὐεργεταί: force of the suffix!

## CHAPTER VI.

### *Biographical Sketches of the Five Generals.*

SYNOPSIS: Of the five generals, who after their seizure are taken to Babylon and beheaded, Clearchus was the most prominent; a man well qualified for war and fond of it (1). He fought during the Peloponnesian War against the Athenians, and at its close undertook an expedition to Thrace (2). When ordered to return by the Ephors, he disobeyed (3) and was condemned to death. Being now an exile, he went to Cyrus and received from him 10,000 darics (4), with which he collected an army and plundered the Thracians until summoned to Asia (5). Summary of the evidence that he was fond of war (6) and fitted for it (7). As evidence that he was fitted for command, notwithstanding his gloomy and harsh disposition, he was skilful in providing supplies for his army and an excellent disciplinarian (8-10). In time of danger his soldiers willingly obeyed him, but left him, when the peril was over, for a general of less harsh disposition (11, 12). No one was personally attached to him, but his troops were excellent soldiers (13, 14). He was about fifty years of age when he died (15). — Proxenus was ambitious from boyhood (16). He joined Cyrus, hoping to gain wealth, influence, and a great name (17), but was unwilling to acquire any of

these by unjust means (18). He was able to command well-disposed men, but could not inspire ordinary soldiers with fear or respect; he was thirty years old when he died (19, 20). — Menon was avaricious, stooping to perjury, falsehood, and deceit to gain his ends (21, 22). He respected and spared an enemy because he was dangerous, but ridiculed and plundered his friends (23, 24). He respected perjury and injustice, but looked upon the pious and truthful as fools (25). He took pride in deceit and ridicule of friends (26), and sought to be honored and courted by showing his power and willingness to do wrong (27). Even in extreme youth he was notoriously licentious (28). He was not put to death with the others, but died like a malefactor, after being tortured alive for a whole year (29). — Agias and Socrates were both courageous in war and faithful to their friends; and at the time of their death each was thirty-five years old (30).

1. *μὲν*: cf. *μὲν* in i. 10. 19, and note. — *οὕτω*, so, as above described. — *τὰς κεφαλὰς* (G. 197, 1, N. 2, last ex.): the corresp. active constr. would be *αὐτοῖς ἀποτέμνουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς*. — *εἰς*: in app. to (part of) *στρατηγοί*. — *μὲν*: correl. to *δέ* in § 16. — *ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων*, as was agreed by (cf. *ἐκ* in i. 1. 6) all. — *αὐτοῦ* (G. 182, 1; 180, 1). — *δόξας γενέσθαι*, i. e. who appeared to have been (lit. to have become or to have shown himself). — Cf. with this section i. 9. 1.

2. *πόλεμος*: the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B. C.). — *ἀδικοῦσι*, had wronged; cf. i. 5. 11, and note. — *τοὺς Ἕλληνας*: the Greek colonists in the Thracian Chersonesus. — *διαπραξάμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων*, having secured (his object) from the Ephors. — *ὡς πολεμήσων*: cf. i. 1. 11, and note.

3. *μετα-γινόντες πως*, changing their mind for some reason. — *ἐφόροι* (over-seers), Ephors. — *Ἰσθμοῦ*: of Corinth. — *ἔρχετο πλέων*: cf. *ἔρχετο ἀπελαύνων* in ii. 4. 24, and note.

4. *ἐθανατώθη*, was condemned to death (G. 130, 3): cf. *θάνατος*, θνήσκω. — *τελών*, magistrates, the ἐφόροι. — *ἄλλη*: no such arguments (λόγοις) are given in the *Anabasis*. Cf. i. 1. 9, and i. 3. 3, 4. — *δαρκεοὺς*: cf. note on i. 7. 18.

5. *ῥεθυμίαν*, a life of ease (*ῥέθυς* and *θυμός*). — *ἀπὸ . . . χρημάτων*: cf. i. 1. 9. — *ἀπὸ τούτου*, from this time on. — *ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε*, plundered, or pillaged: *φέρειν* properly of objects that can be carried off, *ἄγω* of cattle; Lat. *ferre et agere*. — *πολεμῶν διεγένετο*, went on warring (G. 279, 1).

Page 58. — 6. *φιλο-πολέμου* (G. 131, 1): cf. *πολεμ-ικός* in § 7. — *ὅστις αἰρείται*: cf. *οἵτινες ἐθελονσι* in ii. 5. 21, and note. — *ἔξω*: cf. ii. 5. 22. — *αἰσχύνῃ*, βλάβῃ (see G. 129, 1). — *αἰρείται*, chooses. — *ὥστε πολεμῶν*, i. e. provided that he may be (laboring) in war (G. 266, 2). — *εἰς παιδικά*, upon a favorite. — *δαπανᾶν*, to make outlays.

7. *ταῦτα*, herein, in these regards. — *ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός*, by day or night (indifferently, G. 179, 1). — *ἄγων*: like the two adjectives, with *ἦν*, ready to lead. — *πανταχοῦ πάντες*: cf. ii. 5. 7, and note.

8. *ὡς δυνατόν . . . εἶχεν*, so far as was possible with (i. e. for a man of) such a temper as he certainly (καὶ) had. — *ὡς . . . ἄλλος*: cf. i. 3. 15, and note. — *ὅπως ἔχοι* (G. 217, N. 1): — *αὐτῷ* (G. 184, 3, N. 6). — *ἐμπνεῖσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν*, to inspire in those present (the feeling). — *ὡς πασιπύον εἶναι* = *ὡς δεῖ αὐτοὺς πείθεσθαι*, that they must obey (G. 243; 281, 2).

9. ἐκ τοῦ . . . εἶναι, *by being severe* (G. 262, 1; 138, N. 8). — ὄρᾶν (G. 261, 2) — ὡς (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — ἔσθ' ὅτε, *sometimes*. Cf. ἐνίοτε just preceding (G. 152, N. 2), and the note on ἦν . . . οὗς in i. 5. 7. — γνώμῃ, *on principle, systematically*: note καὶ before γνώμῃ — ἀκολάστου, *undisciplined*. — στρατεύματος . . . δόλος: cf. i. 3. 11.

10. λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν: Xen. states the facts not on his own authority. Cf. i. 9. 23. — τὸν ἀρχοντα, *his commander*. — εἰ μάλloi, *if he were either to, etc.* (G. 247): the dir. form would be δεῖ φοβέσθαι . . . εἰ μάλλα, κ. τ. λ. — φυλακᾶς: why acc.? — ἀπροφασίστως (πρό-φασις), *boldly, promptly, lit. without making excuses*.

11. τὸ στυγνόν, *the sternness, gloom* (G. 139, 2): cf. τὸ χαλεπόν and τὸ ἐπιχαρῆ, below. — φαίδρὸν: pred. to φαίνεσθαι. — ἐν τοῖς προσώποις (*poetic plural*): connect with τὸ στυγνόν. — ἑρρωμένον, *something strong or vigorous; like vigor*.

12. οὗτοι γίνονται (G. 233). — πρὸς ἄλλον ἀρχομένους ἀπέραι, i. e. *to go away into the service of another*. — δέικναι, *were disposed*. The active is expressed by διατίθημι (i. 1. 5).

13. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. i. 9. 8.

Page 59. — τεταγμένοι . . . κατεχόμενοι (sc. παρέναι αὐτῷ). — σφόδρα . . . ἐχρήτο (G. 98, N. 2), *he found exceedingly obedient, i. e. these yielded him implicit obedience*.

15. οὐ μάλα θέλειν: as we say, *did not like very much*. — ἀμφὶ τὰ: cf. the note on εἰς in i. 2. 3.

16. εὐθύς (G. 277, N. 1). — Γοργίας: the brilliant rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, who lived about 485–380 B. C. His fee (ἀργύριον) was 100 minae (about \$1,800).

17. ἐπεὶ συνεγένετο αὐτῷ, *after he had been his pupil*: συνείναι τινι often means *to be one's pupil or disciple*. — φίλος . . . πρῶτος, *while he was on friendly terms with those of highest rank*. — εὐεργετῶν: cf. ἀλεξίμενος in i. 9. 11. — ἔρεο κτήσεσθαι, *expected to get* (G. 246).

18. ἐπιθυμῶν (G. 277, 5). — ἐνδηλον . . . εἶχεν, *he moreover made this also evident*. — τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ: cf. τὸ στυγνόν in § 11, and note. The principle of G. 139, 2, is illustrated often in this chapter. — μή: why do we have μή and not οὐ?

19. καλῶν κάγαθῶν: as we should say, “gentlemen.” See Lidd. and Scott, s. v. καλο-κάγαθός. — αἰδῶ ἑαυτοῦ, *respect for himself* (G. 167, 3). — στρατιώταις (G. 187, end; 184, 1). Cf. § 8. — στρατιώτας: cf. θεούς in ii. 5. 39, and note. — φοβούμενος: what use of the part.? See G. 280, N. 1, and cf. δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν in § 21, and στέργων φανερός ἦν and ἐνδελος ἐγγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων in § 23. See also i. 2. 11, and note.

20. πρὸς τὸ . . . δοκεῖν, *for being, and having the reputation of being, fit to govern* (G. 262, 1). This const. occurs several times below. ἀρχικόν modifies τινά understood, the subject of the infinitives. — ἐπαινεῖν (ρίε): subject of ἀρεῖν (G. 259). — ἐτῶν (G. 169, 3).

21. μέγιστον: adverbially with δυναμένους, *the most powerful*. — ἀδικῶν: cf. for the tense the note on i. 5. 11. So ἀδικούντα in § 20. — μὴ διδοῖν δίκην, *might not pay the penalty*: cf. ἔχε τὴν δίκην, ii. 5. 38.



Page 60. — 22. ὅν (G. 152). — τῷ ἡλίῳ (G. 186). Cf. note on § 18, above (at the end).

23. τοῦτον, taking up the relative clause, is to be connected in construction with ἐπιβουλευόν. — ἐνδηλος ἐγένετο: how different from ἐνδηλος ἦν and ἐνδηλος ἐγένετο! — οὐδενός (G. 177). — τῶν συνόντων, his associates: connect with καταγελῶν; διελέγετο would require the dative (G. 186).

24. μόνος . . . ὅν, he thought that he alone (G. 138, N. 8) understood that it was (G. 280) easiest.

26. ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ: below, with ἀγάλλετο, we have the simple dative of cause), τῷ δύνασθαι, κ. τ. λ. (G. 262, 2). For the formation of the three nouns after ἐπὶ, expressing quality, see G. 129, 7. — ψευδῆ: from ψευδής, not ψεῦδος. — τῶν ἀπαιδευόν: partitive; cf. τῶν στρατευομένων, i. 2. 3, and note. — διαβάλλον τοὺς πρώτους, by s'andering those who were already friends (in their friendship). — τούτους: takes up the relative clause.

27. τὸ . . . παρέχεσθαι (G. 199, 2): obj. of ἐμμεχανάτο. An obj. clause with ὅπως would be more common (G. 217). — ἔκ: cf. § 9. — ἤξιον, expedient. — ἐπιδακνύμενος (G. 277, 2). — ὅτι δύναίτο καὶ ἰθὺλοι ἄν: in direct form δύναμαι καὶ ἰθὺλοι ἄν. — εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, and he accounted it against (the person) an act of kindness (G. 129, 3).

28. τὰ δὲ ἄφανεῖ ἔστι ψεύδεσθαι, i. e. there is room for false statements, it is true, about doubtful matters (G. 159). — τάδε, the following. — παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ: with ἄν; cf. for the facts stated i. 1. 10, and i. 2. 6, and note. — ξένων (G. 171, 3). — ἤδεο, i. e. Ariaeus.

29. οὐκ ἀπέθανε: to be connected with the genitive absol. above, which expresses time (G. 277, 1).

Page 61. — κεφαλῆς: cf. § 1, and note. — ζῶν . . . ἐνιαυτόν, after being tortured alive for a year.

30. Note the interchange of the dual and plural in this section (G. 33, 1). — καὶ τοῦτο: emphatic repetition of the subject in the form of a pronoun. — αὐτοῦς is irregularly inserted before ἐμμεφετο, as this verb cannot govern the gen. τοῦτων, which by its position would naturally be the object of both the clauses with οὗτοι. — ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς, years from birth, years of age.

## BOOK THIRD.

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND THE PERSIANS AFTER THE BREAKING OF THE TREATY. — MARCH FROM THE RIVER ZAPATAS TO THE MOUNTAINS OF THE CARDUCHI.

### CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1). After the capture of their leaders the Greeks are greatly perplexed and disheartened (2, 3). There is, however, with the army a certain Xenophon, whom Proxenus had sent for,

promising to make him the friend of Cyrus; and who, after consulting with Socrates and inquiring of the oracle at Delphi (4-7), had repaired to Sardis (8). He was there invited by Cyrus to join him on a proposed incursion against the Pisidians (9), and continued to follow him even after the true object of the expedition was known (10). Xenophon now has a dream (11), which greatly terrifies him (12). On awakening he reviews the situation, and is impressed with the necessity of immediate action (13, 14). He calls together the captains of Proxenus, and shows them how little mercy they may expect if they fall into the power of the King (15-18). He declares that while the truce lasted he envied the King and pitied his companions (19), since their oaths bound them not to take anything unless they paid for it, which few of them were able to do (20). Now he proposes that they shall fight for what they need, with the Gods as judges of the combat, who certainly will favor them (21, 22); and urges the greater power of endurance and more resolute minds of the Greeks (23). He exhorts the captains to bravery, and offers to follow or lead as they shall choose (24, 25). All wish him to lead except Apollonides, whose discouraging remarks Xenophon interrupts, showing that their only chance for life is to present a bold front to the King (26-29). Apollonides is expelled from their number, and a meeting of all the generals and captains is called (30-32). When they are assembled, Xenophon is requested to present his opinions (33, 34). He reviews their relations to the King (35); and urges them to show their soldiers that they are courageous (36, 37), to choose new generals (38), and to assemble and encourage the troops, who are exceedingly dejected (39-41); for it is the courageous man alone in battle who is successful (42-44). Chirisophus follows (45), and proposes that they elect the officers at once (46). Xenophon takes the place of Proxenus (47).

1. Ὅσα . . . δεδῆλωται: see note on ii. 1. 1.—ἀπίνοντων: temporal part. denoting time present to ἐγένετο (G. 277, 1; 204).—ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, *during the truce*, belongs to ἐγένετο: see iv. 1. 1.

2. ἐπεὶ is here causal, and takes the pluperfect: when it is temporal, it generally takes the aorist; cf. ἐπεὶ ἐτελεύτησαν in § 1, and see note on i. 1. 3.—ἐννοούμενοι μὲν with the eight dependent clauses introduced by ὅτι is summed up in ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι (§ 3), and there is no corresponding clause with εἰ.—ἐπὶ . . . θύραις, *at the King's gates*: they were now about 300 miles from Babylon.—ἦσαν (G. 243, N. 2).—κύκλῳ: like the English *a-round*.—παρέβην ἐμᾶλλον (G. 118, 6; 202, 3, N.), *was to furnish*.—ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ, *between (them and) the road home*.—προὔδεδόκασαν (G. 9, 2; 105, 1, N. 1).—οἱ . . . βάρβαροι (G. 276, 1): the Persians of Cyrus's army, 100,000 in number, under the command of Ariaeus (cf. i. 1. 10).—μόνοι (pred. nom.), *left alone*.—νικῶντες, *if they should be victorious* (G. 226, 1), = εἰ νικῶν.—ἡττηθέντων (= νικηθέντων): conditional, = εἰ ἡττηθείεν.—αὐτῶν is partitive genitive after οὐδεὶς.

3. εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν, *at evening* (properly, *on coming to the evening*: i. 7. 1).—οἴτου (G. 171, 2).—τὰ ἔπλα, i. e. the place where their arms were stacked, a general term for their *quarters*.—νύκτα (G. 161).—ἀνεπαύοντο . . . ἕκαστος, *they lay down where each chanced to be* (sc. ὧν, G. 279, 4): observe the force of the imperfect.—πατρίδων, etc. objective genitives after πόθεν (G. 167, 3).—γονίων (cf. G. 129, 2 a).

Page 62. — 4. **Ξενοφών**: "The inspiration now fell, happily for the army, on one in whom a full measure of soldierly strength and courage was combined with the education of an Athenian, a democrat, and a philosopher. It is in the true Homeric vein, and in something like Homeric language, that Xenophon describes his dream, or the intervention of Oneiros, sent by Zeus, from which this renovating impulse took its rise." Grote. — **μετεπέμψατο**, *had sent for him*. — **οἰκοθεν** (G. 61): cf. **οἶκος**, i. 1. 10, and **οἰκάδε**, i. 2. 2. — **ξένος**, *guest-friend*: see note on i. 1. 10. — **εἰ θῆθαι . . . ποιήσαι** (G. 246; 247): the direct discourse would be **ἐὰν θῆθαι, ποιήσαι**, and **ἐὰν θῆθαι** might have been used here, like **ἐπαδὴν λήξῃ** in § 9, below. — **δὲν . . . πατρίδος**, *whom he (Proxenus) himself* (G. 145, 1) *said he considered of more account to himself than (he did) his country* (Boeotia): the copula **εἶναι** is understood with **κρίνω νομίζω**.

5. **ἀνακοινοῦται**, *consults* (as a friend): cf. the act. **ἀνακοινῶσαι** (below), *to communicate with* (i. e. **τῷ θεῷ**). — **Σωκράτης**: the philosopher, Xenophon's master and friend. — **μὴ . . . εἶναι**, *that it might be matter of accusation by the state* (G. 218): the subject of **εἶναι** is **Κύρῳ . . . γενέσθαι** (G. 259): for **τι**, see G. 160, 2. — **τοῖς Λακ.**: dat. governed by **σύν** in **συμπολεμήσαι** (G. 187). The Spartans were greatly aided by money furnished by Cyrus during the last four years of the Peloponnesian War (408–404 B. C.). See the prefatory note, page 2. — **ἐλθόντα**, agreeing with **αὐτὸν** understood (G. 138, N. 8 δ).

6. **ἐπήγρο**: the aor. **ἡρόμην** (from **ἑρμαι**) is common; but **ἐρωτάω** is used in Attic Greek for the forms of the present stem. — **τίνι εὐχόμενος**, *by sacrifice and prayer to which of the Gods*: **ἀν** qualifies both **θῆθαι** and **σωθεῖν** (G. 212, 4). — **ὀδόν**, cognate acc. (G. 159). — **καλῶς πράξας**: like the English *doing well*. — **ἀνείλεν**: see **ἀναιρέω**. — **θεοῖς**: dat. for acc. by inverse attraction, a rare construction (G. 153, N. 4); or we may consider **θεοῖς οἷς** = **οἷς θεοῖς**, *to what Gods*.

7. **τοῦτο**: referring to the question **πότερον . . . μέναι**. — **πότερον εἶναι** (G. 243). — **ἰσθὲν εἶναι**, *that he was bound to go* (G. 281; 2). — **ὅπως ἂν . . . πορευθεῖν**: indirect question (G. 245): the direct form would be **πῶς ἂν πορευθεῖν**; *how could I go?*

8. **οἷς**: supply **θύσασθαι**; the antecedent, if expressed (G. 152), would be (ἐκείνοις) **τοῖς θεοῖς** (G. 153, N. 1). — **μέλλοντας** (G. 138, N. 2 a). — **ὀδόν** (G. 159, n. 5). — **συνεστάθη**, *was introduced*.

9. **συμπροϋθιμῶτο** (imperf.), *joined in urging*. — **ἐπαδὴν τάχιιστα** (*quam primum*) . . . **λήξῃ** . . . **ἀποπέμψα** (G. 247). — **ἀποπέμψα**, *would dismiss him* (G. 243; 202, 4): the English idiom does not allow us to follow the Greek and say *he said that he will dismiss him*; so also we must translate **ἐπαδὴν λήξῃ** as if it were **ἐπαδὴ λήξεεν**, which would be more common after the past tense **εἶπε**.

10. **ἐσπραγμένο**, *went on the expedition*. — **οὕτως** qualifies **ἐξαπατηθεῖς** (G. 277, 2). — **οὐχ**, *not, however*.

Page 63. — **φοβούμενος . . . καὶ ἀκοντες** (sc. **όντες**), *though fearing, etc.* (G. 277, 5). — **ἀλλήλων, Κύρου**: obj. genitives after **αἰσχύνῃν** (G. 167, 8).

11. λαχόν (G. 170, 2, and κ.). — ἔδοξεν: first personal, with subject σκηπτίς; afterwards understood as an impersonal with λάμπειν, with the subject of which (οὐρανὸν understood) πᾶσαν agrees.

12. ἀνηγέρθη, was roused, awoke. — πῇ . . . πῇ, in some respects . . . in others. — ὅτι . . . τὸ πῦρ is causal, and μὴ οὐ δύναται (G. 215, N. 1) depends on ἐφοβέτο. — βασιλέως: the dream was thought to come from King Zeus. — εἰργαίτο was suggested by his being encircled on all sides (κύκλῳ) by the fire in his dream.

13. ὅποιόν . . . ἐστὶ, but what it amounts to. — ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων, from what happened. — πρώτον μὲν: the correlative is ἐκ τούτου, § 15. — εἰκός, it is likely. — εἰ δὲ γενήσόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1). — ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, in the King's power. — ἐπιδόντας, having experienced (lived to see). — τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ . . . ἀποθανεῖν; (G. 263, 1, N.; 283, 7).

14. ὅπως ἀμυνούμεθα, that we may defend ourselves (G. 217). — ὥσπερ ἔξόν, as if it were possible (G. 278, 2). — ἡσυχίαν (cf. G. 129, 7). — ἐγὼ . . . πῶς, from what state then am I expecting the general to come who is to do this? — τὸν . . . στρατηγόν = (lit.) the general from what state. Xenophon's reflection was somewhat as follows: my own state (Athens) must supply the man; and if I am not old enough now to undertake the work, I never shall be.

15. ἐκ τούτου, upon this: we should expect ἐκ δὲ τούτου (see § 13); but cf. the note on οὗτοι μὲν, i. 2. 4. — ἐν οἷσι, in what straits (G. 139).

16. δῆλον ὅτι = evidently (parenthetical). — οὐ πρότερον . . . πρὶν, not until (G. 240); cf. μὴ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν in i. 2. 2, and note.

Page 64. — ἔξιπηναν (see ἐκφαίνω), opened war upon us. — παρεσκευάσθαι, had been got ready (G. 246).

17. ὁφισόμεθα, yield ourselves. — ὅς: causal relative (G. 238), since he. — ὁμομητρῖον, ὁμοπατρῖον (G. 129, 12; cf. 132, 3). — καὶ . . . ἤδη, even when already dead. — ἡμᾶς: subject of παθεῖν. — κηδεμὸν οὐδεὶς, no protector, to intercede for us (as Cyrus had his mother). — The subj. of ἐστρατεύσαμεν is οἱ, understood from the preceding οἱς (G. 156, N.). — ὥς . . . ποιήσοντας, intending to make him a subject (lit. slave) instead of king. — ἄν qualifies παθεῖν (G. 211).

18. ἂρ' οὐκ . . . ἔλθοι, would he not make every effort? — τὰ ἔσχατα: cognate accusative (G. 159, N. 4). — αἰκισάμενος: implying both ignominy and torture. — τοῦ στρατεύσαι (G. 262, 2): objective genitive after φόβον. — ὅπως . . . γινήσόμεθα (G. 217).

19. ἔστε μὲν: see ἐπεὶ μέντοι, § 21. — οἰκτεῖρων, μακαρίζων (G. 279, 1). — αὐτῶν depends on the four following indirect questions (δοσὴν . . . ὅσα δέ) as if they were nouns: we might have had ταῦτα αὐτῶν after διαθεάμενος (cf. τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν in § 20). — ἐσθῆτα, clothing, in general.

20. ὅποτε ἐνθυμολίην (G. 233). — τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν is explained by ὅτι . . . κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς, and all that precedes in the section is summed up in ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. But ἦσαν, with ἔχοντας and κατέχοντας (G. 280), breaks off from the construction begun in ὅτι τῶν μὲν, forming an independent sentence by ἀνακολληθῶν (ἀνακολουθία). — οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν (G. 184, 2, N. 1)

μετέη εἰ μὴ πριάμεθα: in direct discourse, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μέτεστιν ἐὰν μὴ πριάμεθα (G. 225; 247). — οὗτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα, *wherewith to buy* (G. 178); the antecedent (ἀργύριον understood) follows ἔχοντας, *I knew that few had*, etc. — ἄλλως . . . ἀνουμένους, *to get supplies in any other way than by purchase*, following κατέχοντας.

21. ἡ ἐποψία, i. e. our present *suspicion*, with the constant anxiety attending it. — ἐν μέσῳ κείται . . . ἄλλα, *they* (τὰ ἀγαθὰ) *lie open to competition as prizes* (as in the games): cf. ἐς μέσον τιθέναι (in medio ponere), *to offer as a prize*, and ἐν μέσῳ (in another sense) in § 2. Demosthenes calls certain exposed towns ἄλλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ. — ὁπότεροι ἡμῶν, (*for*) *whichever of us* (Greeks or Persians), the antecedent being omitted. — ὧσιν (G. 232, 3). — ἀγνοοῦνται (G. 131, 1; 132, 1; 129, 2 b), *judges* (in the games), keeping up the figure begun with ἐν μέσῳ.

22. αὐτοῖς, i. e. the Gods, whom the Persians *have mocked by perjury* (ἐπιωρκήσαν), G. 158, N. 2. — θεῶν: object. gen. after ὀρκουσι. — πολὺ (in emphatic position) belongs to μιλῶσι. — τοῖς: in same construction as ἡμῖν understood after ἐξίνα.

Page 65. — 23. ἱκανότερα τούτων . . . φέραν, *more capable than theirs* (lit. *than they*) of bearing (G. 261, 1). — ψύχη, ψυχάς (G. 129, 4, and 129, 1). — σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, *by the Gods' help*. — οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, i. e. the enemy. — ἣν διδώσιν (G. 223), *if the Gods grant us*, etc. The future apodosis is implied in τρωτοί, etc., *more liable to be wounded and killed*, i. e. in consequence of the superior armor of the Greeks.

24. ἄλλ' ἴσως γὰρ . . . ἀναμένωμεν (G. 253), *but let us not wait, for perhaps others too*, etc. — παρακαλοῦντας: fut. (G. 110, II. N. 1 a). — τοῦ ἔξορμήσαι: gen. after ἀρξομένῳ (G. 171; 262, 2).

25. ἡλικίας: Xenophon appears to speak as a youth, and this passage favors the later date (about 430 B. C.) assigned for his birth; but most authorities place this at about 440 or even 444 B. C. — ἀκμάζαν, *that I am at the height of my ability*; ἐρύκειν depends on the idea of ability here contained, although we may connect it with the infin. of purpose (so Krüger).

26. Ἀπολλωνίδης (G. 129, 9 c). — βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ, *with a Boeotian accent*. — εἰ . . . λέγοι (= φλυαρεῖ ὅστις λέγει, G. 247): *ὅστις λέγει, who said; not who should say*. — σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, *that he could find safety* (G. 171, 1): τυχεῖν ἂν = τήρομαι ἂν, *I should find* (if I should try). — ἄλλως . . . ἢ πείσας, *otherwise than by persuading*.

27. μεταξὺ ὑπολαβών, *interrupting him in the midst* (of his talk). — ἐν ταῦτ' αὖ τοῖς, *in the same place with these* (G. 186). — ἐπεὶ . . . ἀπέθανε, i. e. *after Cyrus was killed* (ἐπεὶ = postquam): cf. εἰ ἐπέθανε, (simply) *when he commanded*. See notes on i. 1. 2 and 3.

28. αὐτῷ (G. 187). — τί οὐκ ἐποίησε (see § 18), *what did he leave undone?*

29. αὐτοῖς (G. 186, N. 1). — οἳ νῦν . . . οὐδὲ . . . δύνανται; (the οὐ is interrogative) *are they not unable, wretched men! even to die?* (G. 282, 2; 283, 8, N.). — τούτου, i. e. τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν.

Page 66. — πείθειν πάλιν λόντας (sc. ἡμᾶς), *that we should go and try persuasion again*. We may, however, take πάλιν with καλέας. (See Grote, IX., Chap. 70, p. 107.)

30. ἐποὶ . . . δοκεῖ, *I think it best*: for the infin. see G. 202. See note on i. 3. 11. — ἀφελόμενους (sc. ἡμᾶς) . . . χρῆσθαι: *to deprive him of his command, lay packs upon him, and treat him as such* (i. e. as a pack-bearer).

31. τοῦτ᾽ . . . Βουρτίας (G. 184, 2, N. 1). — ὥσπερ Λυδόν: the Greeks considered it effeminate for men to wear ear-rings (see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* s. v. *inauris*); bored ears, therefore, marked a man as a barbarian. The Lydians were proverbially effeminate. Cf. note on An I. 5. 6. — ἀμφότερα . . . τετυνημένον, *with both his ears bored*; ἄτα, etc. presupposes an active construction *τρυνᾶν τὰ ἄτα αὐτῷ*, *to bore his ears for him* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

32. ὅπου . . . εἴη . . . οἴχοντο . . . εἴη (G. 233). — ὅπῃθεν οἴχοντο, i. e. *from whatever division the general had been lost* (G. 200, N. 3). — ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶς εἴη implies that the two higher officers were lost.

33. εἰς . . . ὕπλων, *at the front of the encampment* (§ 3; G. 191, N. 6). — ἐγένοντο, *amounted to* (in number), not *were*. — μέσαι νύκτες, *midnight*: cf. i. 7. 1, and note.

34. αὐτοῖς is infinitive (G. 145, 1), referring to ἡμῖν: *it seemed best to us, when we saw, . . . ourselves to meet*, etc. — εἰ δυναίμεθα (G. 248, N.). — πρὸς ἡμᾶς (sc. ἑξέας).

35. τάδε (G. 148, N. 1). — ἡμῶν: partitive after οὗς. — ἐῴλον ὅτι: see § 16. — ἡμῖν δέ: correlated in form to ταῦτα μὲν, but in sense to βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης. — ἡμῖν . . . ποιητέα (G. 188, 4; 281, 1).

36. μέγιστον καιρόν, *the grandest opportunity*.

Page 67. — αὐτοὶ τε, *both on your own part* (G. 145, 1), opposed to τοὺς ἄλλους, below. — παρασκευαζόμενοι, *preparing* (not *prepared*), with φανεροί ἦτε (G. 280, N. 1).

37. τι, *somewhat, considerably* (G. 160, 2). — τοῦτων (G. 175, 2). — χρῆμασι, *pay*. — ἄξιόν σε ἔμᾶς αὐτοῖς, *we have a right to expect that you*, etc.

38. ὀνήσαι ἄν (ὀνήσασθε ἄν, G. 211). — ὅπως . . . ἀντικατασταθῶσιν (G. 217, N. 1; 201, N. 2). — ὥς . . . εἰπεῖν, *to speak briefly* (G. 184, 5; 268). — παντάπασιν (sc. οὐδὲν ἄν . . . γένοιτο), i. e. it is *absolutely* true in military matters; the force lies in the implication that this expression is stronger than the sweeping statement in οὐδαμοῦ (G. 283, 9).

39. ποιῆσαι ἄν (= ποιήσασθε ἄν: see § 38): we should have expected ποιήσων (= ποιήσετε), to correspond with the two subjunctives which precede (G. 227, 1). — πάνν ἐν καιρῷ, *quite seasonably*.

40. ὥς ἀθύμως, *how without spirit*. — οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων, *at least while they are so* (ἀθύμως): gen. abs. with αὐτῶν understood. — ὅ τι, *for what service* (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

42. ἣ . . . ποιούσα, *which causes*, etc., takes the gender of ἰσχύς, where τὸ . . . ποιοῦν might have been used. — ὁπότεροι ἄν . . . ἰωσιν (G. 233). — ἔρρωμένεστέροι (compar. of the perf. part. pass. of ῥάννυμι), *more vigorous*. — τοῦτους refers with emphasis to the omitted antecedent of ὁπότεροι: *such men their foes do not abide*. — ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *generally* (for the most part).

Page 68. — 43. ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, *any way they can, at any rate*. — οὗτοι μὲν . . . τοῦτους: see note on τοῦτους, § 42. — ἀφικνούμενους (G. 280). — διάγοντας, *passing their life*. — ἕως ἄν ζῶσιν (G. 233).

44. αὐτοῖς, *ourselves* (emphatic). — παρακαλῶν: sc. ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

45. Χαρί-σοφος (G. 131, 1, N.). — τοσούτον . . . ὅσον, *I know only so much of you, as that*, etc. — ἐφ' οἷς (G. 153, N. 1). — βουλομένην ἄν (G. 226, 2b). — ὅτι πλείστον (like the Latin *quam plurimos*), *as many as possible*. See note on i. 1. 6.

46. αἰρεῖσθε, etc.: imperat. — οἱ δέονοι, *you who need them*.

47. ἅμα εἰπὼν (G. 277, N. 1). — τὰ δέοντα, *the needful business*, subj. of the passives μέλλοιτο and παραινέοιτο. — Δαρδανεύς, *of Dardanius in Troas*.

## CHAPTER II.

**SYNOPSIS:** The soldiers are called together, and first addressed by Chirisophus (1), who admits that the situation is critical (2), but exhorts them to face the enemy with courage (3). Cleanor follows, and calls to mind the perjury and impiety of the King, and the faithlessness of Tissaphernes and Ariaeus (4, 5), upon whom he invokes the vengeance of the Gods (6). Next Xenophon stands up, splendidly accoutred for war (7), and says that now the Greeks may hope, with the aid of the Gods, to get back home again in safety (8). While he is speaking, some one sneezes; and the army, regarding this a good omen, vow to offer sacrifices to Zeus in the first friendly country they shall reach (9). Xenophon then proceeds, giving the reasons why they may hope for a safe return: the Gods are on their side (10); their ancestors once defeated the Persians at Marathon (11, 12), and again at Salamis (13); and they themselves have lately proved themselves not unworthy descendants of such progenitors (14). The struggle was then, he says, for Cyrus; now it is for themselves (15); and now they know that the enemy are at heart cowards (16): even more cowardly still are their former barbarian allies (17). The enemy's cavalry, moreover, are, after all, only so many men (18, 19). Better guides may be seized than the treacherous Tissaphernes (20); opportunities found for seizing provisions (21); and even impassable rivers crossed, at least at their sources (22). But even if obliged to remain, they need not despair, for various nations have already occupied the King's country against his will (23). The speaker is half inclined (he says) to advise them to pretend that they want to remain (24). On the whole, however, their proper course is to go back to Greece and advise their poor relations and friends to come to Persia and get rich by plundering (25, 26). They should, therefore, burn their wagons, and rid themselves of all other unnecessary baggage (27, 28); and, remembering how the enemy hoped to destroy them by seizing their generals (29), be more vigilant and obedient than before (30), and ready to punish any offender against discipline (31). Whatever they see fit to do should be done at once (32). Chirisophus puts Xenophon's proposals to vote, and they are adopted (33). Xenophon, again rising, suggests that they march, in the form of a square, for provisions to certain villages near at hand, with Chirisophus as leader (34–37). The proposals are approved, and he again exhorts them to valor (38, 39).

1. ἤρηντο: the plup. with *ἐπεὶ* or *ἐπειδὴ* is more emphatic than the more common aorist (for which see notes on i. 1. 2 and 3). — *ἐπείφαυε*, *was barely glimmering*: a common force of *ἐπεὶ* in comp. is *slightly* (G. 191, VI. 7, end). — πρῶτον μὲν answers to *ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, § 4.

Page 69. — 2. οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριατον, *Ariceus and his men* (G. 141, N. 3).

3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, *from these straits*. See τὰ παρόντα in § 2. — ἀνδρας . . . τελέθειν (sc. ἡμᾶς), *we must come out brave men*: τελέθειν is a poetic word = γίνεσθαι. — ὅπως σωζόμεθα (G. 217, N. 1). — εἰ δὲ μή, *otherwise*: see note on ii. 2. 1. — ἀλλά γε, *yet at least*. — ἀποθνήσκωμεν and γενώμεθα depend on ὅπως, like σωζόμεθα. — ἵπποχέραιοι (G. 182, 1). — τοιαῦτα οἷα . . . ποιήσειαν (G. 251, 1), *such things as I pray that the Gods may do to our enemies* (G. 165).

4. ἐπιορκίαν, ἀσφίειαν, ἀπιστίαν (see G. 129, 7). — ὅστις λέγων, i. e. (*a man*) *who, while he said, etc.* The speech of Tissaphernes is in ii. 3. 18. — εἰη (G. 243). — περὶ . . . ἂν ποιήσαιτο, *would hold it of the utmost consequence* (G. 245). — ἐπὶ τούτοις, *upon all this* (in confirmation of it). — αὐτός: repeated with tragic emphasis: notice also the *asyndeton*. — Δία ξένιον: Ζεὺς as the God of hospitality and the protector of its rights. — αὐτοῖς τούτοις, *by that very means*, i. e. being on intimate terms (δομωτράπεζος) with Clearchus.

5. ὃν . . . ἐλάβομεν (G. 156, N.). — προδώσειν: cf. παρέξεν in ii. 3. 26, and note. — καὶ οὗτος, *even he too*. — ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιῶν (G. 165, N. 1).

6. ἀποτίσαιντο, *requite* (G. 251, 1): ἀπο- implies the rendering what is due. — ἔτι, *any longer*. — ὥς ἂν δυνάμεθα κράτιστα, *as vigorously as we shall be able*: by an ellipsis of δύναμαι we have the common expression ὥς κράτιστα, etc., *as vigorously as possible*, etc. — δυνάμεθα, δοκῇ (G. 232, 3).

7. ἱστυαμένους, *equipped*. — κόσμον, *ornament*, refers to his dress. — τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα, *since he had thought himself worthy of* (i. e. *to wear*) *the most beautiful equipment*. — ἐν τούτοις, i. e. τοῖς καλλίστοις. — τελευτῆς (G. 171, 1).

Page 70. — 8. αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἵνα, *to enter into friendship with them*, like διὰ δίκης ἔλθειν τινι, *to go to law with one*, and below, διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵνα, *to go to war with them in every way* (G. 186, N. 1). — ὁρῶντας . . . πεπνύθασιν, *seeing the generals, what they had suffered*, i. e. *seeing what the generals/s, etc.* Cf. note on i. 1. 5. — ἂν (G. 153, N. 1): its antecedent would be gen. after δίκην (G. 167, 3), *punishment for what they have done*: the antecedent in such cases is (as in the English *what*) implied in the relative. — τὸ λοιπόν, *adverbial, for the future* (G. 160, 2; 161).

9. τὸν θεόν, i. e. Δία Σωτήρα (see below). — περὶ σωτηρίας λεγόντων: the sneeze, which was thought to be an omen sent by Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, came just *when they were talking of safety*. — οἰωνός, *omen*: so sneezing is still regarded by the vulgar in some countries. — εἰξασθαι, *to vow*, depending on δοκέει (G. 202); see note on iii. 1. 30, above. — θύσειν σωτήρια (G. 159), *to make sacrifices in thanks for safety*. — ὅπου ἂν . . . ἀφικώμεθα (G. 232, 3). — ἀντανατόω: an appeal to the citizen-soldiers: in the Athenian Assembly elections were made (after nomination) by hand-vote (χαροτονία).

10. ἐμπεδοῦμεν (ἐμπεδος, from ἐν and πέδον), *we stand by*. — οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων (sc. τῶν πραγμάτων), *quae cum ita sint*. — κἀν . . . ὥσι (G. 225).

11. ἔπειτα δὲ corresponds to πρῶτον μὲν in § 10; but after the construction is interrupted by ἀναμνήσω γὰρ . . . ἀγαθοί, it is resumed in ἐλθόντων



μὲν γὰρ without reference to *ἔκαστα*. — ἀναμνήσω here takes two accusatives, with the verbs included in G. 164; for a different construction, see G. 171, 2, N. 3. — ἀγαθοῖς (G. 138, N. 8). — ὡς ἀφανισόντων, *to blot Athens again out of existence* (G. 277, 3, and N. 2): *αἴθις*, *again*, i. e. as she was ἀφανὲς before she was built. — ἐνίκησαν: i. e. at Marathon (490 B. C.).

Page 71. — 12. εἰζήμενοι: nom. as if a personal verb meaning *they resolved* were to follow, in place of ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς. — ὁπόσους κατακάνουεν representing ὁπόσους ἂν κατακάνομεν of the direct form (G. 247). — χιμαῖρας: trace the origin of the English word *Chimaera*. — ἀποθούσιν, *they are still* (after ninety years) *fulfilling that sacrifice*. According to Herodotus, the number of Persians slain at Marathon was 6,400 (see *Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 153, § 23); the Athenians prayed Artemis for permission to substitute for a single sacrifice of this large amount of goats an annual one of five hundred. The essay on the *Malignity of Herodotus*, included in Plutarch's *Morals*, Ch. XXVI., describes this sacrifice as still kept up about five centuries after Xenophon's time.

13. ἔκαστα corresponds to ἐλόντων μὲν in § 11. — ἀναριθμητον: Herodotus (vii. 185) makes the whole number of the fighting men (μάχισταί) in Xerxes's army 2,641,610; and he estimates the number of camp-followers as even greater than this. (See *Selections*, p. 163, § 23.) — καὶ τότε, *then too* (as well as at Marathon), referring to the victories at Salamis (480 B. C.), and at Plataea and Mycæ (479 B. C., on the same day). — ἔστι . . . ὅραν, *we may see* (G. 259). — τεκμήρια (G. 137, N. 4). — ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεούς, *but (only) the Gods*. — προγόνων (G. 169, 1).

14. ἀφ' οὗ, *since*. — ἐκείνων, i. e. the Persians of Xerxes's army. — ὁμῶν αὐτῶν (G. 175, N. 1): gen. after πολλαπλασίους (see note on i. 7. 3).

15. πολλὸς belongs to ἀμείνονας and προθυμοτέρους. See iii. 1. 22.

16. αὐτῶν: obj. gen. after ἀπειροί (G. 180, N. 1). — ἀμετρον: sc. ὅν (G. 280). — πατρὶν (G. 129, 12): cf. πατρίαν, iii. 1. 11. — ἐς, *against (into)*, stronger than the more common ἐπὶ. — ὅτι θάλουσιν depends on the idea of *knowing* implied in πείραν ἔχετε. — καὶ . . . ὄντες (G. 277, 5, and N. 1 δ). — δέχεσθαι, i. e. to *abide* our attack. — ὅμιν προσήκει: we might have had ὁμᾶς as the subject of the infinitive, as in § 15.

17. μὴδὲ . . . εἰ, *nor suppose that you are the worse for this, that, etc.* (G. 254). — οἱ Κύριοι: the barbarian troops of Cyrus. — ἐκείνους refers to τῶν ἡττημένων. running to them for refuge implied (Xen. means) that the refugees were the greater cowards. — ταττομένους (G. 280).

18. ἡμῖν (G. 184, 4). — ἐνθυμήθητε: plural, as if ὁμᾶς had preceded in place of ὁμῶν τις.

Page 72. — οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς: the article here implies that the number is a familiar one; "so in English, *your ten thousand horse*" (Crosby). — 8 τι ἂν γίγνηται (G. 233).

19. ἱππέων: gen. of compar. after πολλὸ ἀσφαλεστέρου. — βεβηκότες, *on our feet*. — εἴτου ἂν βουλέμεθα (G. 232, 3). — τυξόμεθα (see τυγχάνω), *shall hit*. — ἐνί, *in one thing* (G. 188, 2). — ἡμᾶς: προσήκει usually takes the genitive (G. 175, 2); here the accusative.

20. *ei* belongs to both clauses, *τὰς μὲν . . . θαρραῖτε*, and *ὅτι δὲ . . . ἀχθεσθε* — *μάχας* (G. 158, N. 2). — *ὅτι . . . παρῆκα*: summed up in *τοῦτο*, which follows. — *φανερὸς*, *evidently* (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — *οὓς . . . ἀνδρας* for *τοὺς ἀνδρας οὓς* (G. 154). — *οὓς ἂν . . . λαβόντες . . . καλέσωμεν* (G. 232, 3), i. e. *any whom we may find (on the way) and order to act as guides*. — *τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα*, *their own lives and bodies*: the meaning is that such guides will fear death or a beating enough to make them faithful: with nouns of different genders the article is usually repeated.

21. *πότερον κρεῖττον* (sc. *ἔστί*) is part of the indirect question depending on *σκέψασθε* in § 20. — *ἡς* (G. 153). — *ἀργυρίου* (G. 178). — *μηδὲ . . . ἔχοντες*, *when we no longer have even this* (i. e. *ἀργύριον*), i. e. being now without pay. — *αὐτοὺς* (sc. *ἡμᾶς*), *ourselves* (G. 145, 1, N.).

22. *Εἰ δὲ* introduces three verbs. — *ἄπορον* (G. 138, N. 2 c). — *μεγάλως . . . διαβάντες*, *suppose yourselves to have been greatly deceived by having crossed them* (G. 203; 277, 2), as when they crossed the Tigris (ii. 4. 24). — *σκέψασθε ei*, we should say, *whether they have not*, etc. — *τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον* (sc. *ὄν*): see G. 142, 3, end. — *πηγῶν* (G. 182, 2). — *ἦν . . . ὥσι* (G. 225). — *προϊόνσι*, *to those advancing* (sc. *τισὶ*). — *οὐδέ*, *not even*.

23. *διήσουσιν* (see *διήμι*), *let us pass* (G. 223, N. 1). — *οὐδ' ὧς* (*ὡς* = *οὕτως*), *not even then* (lit. *so, under these circumstances*). — *ἀθυμητίων* (G. 281, 2). — *Μυσοὺς*, *the Mysians*, of N. W. Asia Minor, rebellious subjects of the King, and only half subdued. The Pisidians and Lycasונים (mentioned below) inhabited the rugged southerly part of Asia Minor. — *οὐκ ἂν φαίμεν* (G. 226, 2). — *βασιλεὺς ἄκοντος*: gen. abs. (sc. *ὄντος*).

Page 73. — *τούτων*: meaning the Persians, whose king has just been spoken of. — *καρποῦνται* (middle voice), *reap for themselves*: the nouns which would naturally be the subjects of this verb are attracted into the preceding clauses, and made the objects of *ἐπιστάμεθα* and *εἰδόμεν* (see note on § 8, above).

24. *καὶ ἡμᾶς*: emphatic. — *ἂν ἔφην*, *I might say (unless, etc., see next section: G. 226, 2)*. — *ἀρμημένους* (after *φανερὸς*: G. 280, N. 1), i. e. *we ought not yet to let it be seen that we have set out for home*. — *ὥς . . . οἰκήσοντες*, *as if we intended to settle hereabouts*, i. e. declaring by our acts that this is our purpose (G. 277, N. 2). — *Μυσοῖς . . . ἂν δολή*, i. e. if they would take them (G. 226, 2). — *ἂν* before *ὀμήρους* belongs to *δολή* understood (G. 212, 3). — *ὀμήρους* (*ὀμός* and \**ἄρω*), *hostages*, i. e. *binding* (two parties) together. — *τοῦ . . . ἐκπέμψην*: gen. depending on *ὀμήρους* (G. 262, 2), *hostages for his sending*; the fut. infin. in all constructions with the article is exceptional (G. 202, 3), the present or aorist being far more common. (See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 2). — *ἂν . . . ἑποία*, *he would be thrice-glad to do this* (G. 222). — *μένειν παρασκευαζόμενους*, *preparing (not prepared) to remain*.

25. *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, *but* (I do not say this, *ἔφην ἂν* in § 24) *for*, etc. — *ἀργοί* (G. 138, N. 8). — *ῥῆν* (G. 123, N. 2). — *καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις*, *fair and tall*, the Greek notion of female beauty. — *γυναιξί* (G. 186). — *μή* before *δοσπερ* is a repetition of *μή* after *εἰδοίκα*. — *λωτοφάγοι*, *lotus-eaters*, see *Odys.* IX.,

94 sqq.: having tasted of this sweet tropical plant, the companions of Ulysses lost all care for home.

26. *ἔδν*, since it is in their power (G. 278, 2), gives the cause of *ἐκόντας πίνονται*. — *τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας*, those who now live poor at home: object of *ὄραν*. — *κομισαμένους* (referring to the Greeks), if they shall bring them *hither* (G. 226, 1): it might have followed the case of *αὐτοῖς* (G. 138, n. 8 b). — *πλουσίους*: sc. *ὄντας* (G. 280). — *δῆλον ἐτι*: see note on iii. 1. 16. — *τῶν κρατούντων* (G. 169, 1).

27. *πῶς ἂν* belongs to both *πορευοίμεθα* and *μαχοίμεθα*, and *πῶς*, by what course (if followed), implies the protasis (G. 226, 1). — *ἡμῶν* follows *στρατηγῇ* (G. 171, 3), that our campaign may not be directed by the cattle. — *ὅπη ἂν . . . συμφέρῃ* (G. 232, 3). — *συγκατακάθσαι*: sc. *δοκεῖ*. — *δχλοι . . . ἀγειν* (G. 261, 2, n.). — *εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι*, etc. (G. 262, 1).

28. *ἀπαλλάξωμεν*, let us abandon (G. 253). — *κρατούμενων* (sc. *τινῶν*): gen. of possess. after *πάντα*. — *ἀλλότρια*, forfeit, or lost (lit. another's).

Page 74. — *νομίαν*, consider as, followed by two accus. (G. 166).

29. *Δοιπὸν* (*λείπω*), it remains (sc. *ἔστιν*). — *οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν*, not . . . until (G. 240). — *ὄντων . . . ἀρχόντων*, i. e. while we had our officers. — *ἀπολίσθαι ἂν*, that we should be ruined (= *ἀπολοίμεθα ἂν*: G. 211).

30. *τοὺς νῦν* (G. 142, 2). — *τῶν πρόσθεν* (G. 175, 1), than those we had before. Notice the emphatic position of *τοὺς νῦν*.

31. *ἦν . . . ἦν*, in case . . . if (the latter should be translated first). — *τὸν ἀεὶ ἐντυγχάνοντα* (subj. of *κολάζαν*), whoever of you may be at hand at the time. — *ἔψευσμένοι*, disappointed. — *τοὺς . . . εἶναι*, men who will suffer no man to be a coward. — *κακῶ* (G. 136, n. 3 a).

32. *περαίνειν ἔρα* (G. 261, 1), time for action. — *βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ*, better than (that things should be) as I propose. — *ὁ ἰδιώτης*, the private.

34. *προσδεῖν*, is needed besides. — *ὅπου*, (to a place) where.

Page 75. — 35. *εἰ καὶ αὐτοί*, if they themselves likewise (καί), resumes the construction begun by *εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι* and broken by the parenthesis. — *ἡμῖν* (G. 186 or 187).

36. *πλασίον*, a hollow square or rectangle with a front (*τὰ πρόσθεν*), two sides or flanks (*πλευραί*), and a rear (*τὰ ὀπισθεν*): within this the baggage and the camp-followers (*δχλος*) were to be placed. — *ὅπλων*, i. e. the *ὀπλῖται*, or heavy infantry. — *εἰ . . . πλασίου*, if then it should be settled at once who is to lead the square: *ἀποδείκνυμι*, to show forth or manifest, hence to appoint. — *ὁπότε ἔλθοιεν* (G. 232, 4). — *χρέμεθ' ἂν . . . τεταγμένους*, i. e. we should have them at once in their places ready for action.

37. *ἤγοίτο* and the two following optatives express an exhortation in the form of a wish (G. 251, 1). — *Λακεδαιμόνιος*: as the Lacedaemonians were now the first power in Greece. — *τὸ νῦν εἶναι*, for the present (G. 268, n.).

38. *ὅ τι ἂν ἀεὶ δοκῇ*, whatever may seem in each case (*ἀεὶ*): cond. relative clause (G. 232, 3), not indirect question. — *εἰ . . . ὁρᾷ*, if any one (now) sees (G. 221), present like *ὅτε δοκεῖ* (G. 232, 1). — *ἔδοξε ταῦτα*, they voted this, this seemed good to them: cf. i. 3. 20, and note.

39. *τὰ δεδογμένα*, what has been voted. — *ὅστις . . . ἐπιθυμᾷ*, like *εἰ τις*,

etc. (G. 232, 1). — *μνησθε εἶναι*, be mindful that he be: *ὅν* would mean that he is. — *τῶν νικάντων ἐστὶ*, belongs to the victors. — *καὶ εἰ τις δέ*, and even if any (see note on i. 1. 2). — *σάξαι, λαμβάνειν*: cf. *τὸ κατακαίειν* and *τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν*, above (G. 259, N.). — *τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων*, the possessions of the vanquished.

## CHAPTER III.

SYNOPSIS: The Greeks burn their wagons, tents, and superfluous baggage. They are visited by Mithridates (1), who pretends that he is well disposed towards them, and proposes to join them if they have any well-developed plans for escape (2). After consultation, Chirisophus answers that, if unmolested, they will proceed homeward, doing as little harm to the country as possible; but that, if hindered, they propose to fight their way (3). Mithridates endeavors to persuade them that their plan is not feasible, and they conclude that he is a spy (4). They resolve to admit no more heralds to the camp (5). They cross the river Zapatas; and again Mithridates appears, with a body of cavalry, and attacks them (6, 7). The Greeks pursue, but are unable to overtake the enemy (8, 9). Some of them are wounded by the barbarians, who shoot backwards as they ride (10). At the evening's halt, Xenophon is blamed for the pursuit (11). He acknowledges his error (12, 13), and thanks the Gods that no great harm was done (14). He calls attention to the advantages at present possessed by the enemy (15), and proposes that the Greeks at once provide themselves with slingers and cavalry by banding certain Rhodians in their army, who understand the use of the sling, into a company of the former, and by equipping for riders all the horses in their possession (16-19). The plan is approved, and two hundred slingers with fifty horsemen are made ready (20).

1. *δου*: governed by *δεῖτο* (G. 172, 1) and limited by *περιττῶν* (G. 168), whatever of the spare articles: its antecedent is the object of *μετεδίδωσαν*. — *ἀριστο-ποιουμένων* (G. 131, 1; cf. 130, 2). — *εἰς ἐπήκουσιν*, within hearing (*ἀκοῆς*).

Page 76. — 2. *διάγων* (sc. *χρόνον*), tarrying. — *ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνον* (sc. *ὄντα*) καὶ *βουλόμενον*, as (one whom you may assume to be) a friend, etc.: *ὡς* has its force as explained in G. 277, N. 2.

3. *Ὀλεγε* (imperf.), was spokesman. — *εἰ . . . ἔῃ* (G. 221). — *ὡς ἀσινέστα-τα*, doing as little harm as shall be possible. — *ἴν δέ τις*, but if any one (Tiessaphernes, for instance) shall hinder (G. 223): cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — *διαπολεμεῖν*, to fight it out (*διά*).

4. *βασιλέως ἀκοντος* (sc. *ὄντος*). — *ὑπόπεμπτος* (observe the force of *ὑπό*), sent in an underhand way. — *οἰκείων*, kinsmen. — *πίστεως ἕνεκα*, to secure good faith, i. e. on the part of Mithridates.

5. *δόγμα* (see G. 129, 4): Eng. derivative? — *τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι*, that the war should be without heralds (i. e. one in which no messengers were to be received from the enemy): *ἀκήρυκτος* with *πόλεμος* sometimes means implacable, merciless. — *ἔσθ' . . . εἰεν*, so long as they should be in the enemy's country (G. 248, 1): the direct form of the resolution (*δόγμα*) being *ἔσθ' ἂν ἄμεν*. — *διέφθερον . . . στρατιάτας*, they (the Persians) kept trying

to corrupt the soldiers (G. 200, N. 2); but διέφθαραν, they (actually) corrupted. — ἀπιόν (G. 279, 4, N.). — νυκτός (G. 179, 1).

6. τοξότας, σφενδονήτας (G. 129, 2 b): cf. ἀκοντισταί in § 7, and δαλιτών and πελταστῶν in § 8.

7. ὡς φίλος ὢν (G. 277, N. 2). — αὐτῶν, i. e. of his men. — ἔπασχον κακῶς (G. 165, N. 1<sup>a</sup>). — Κρήτες: the Cretan τοξόται are mentioned in i. 2. 9 (see note).

Page 77. — ἡ ὡς (G. 266, 2, N. 1) ... σφενδονητῶν (G. 171, 1), they shot too short to reach the (Persian) slingers.

8. διακτίον (G. 281, 2). — ἰδωκον has for its subject the antecedent of οἱ.

9. ἐκ πολλοῦ, with a long start. — οὐχ οἷόν τε, not possible (G. 151, N. 4<sup>a</sup>).

10. εἰς τοῦπισθεν (τὸ ὀπισθεν), behind them, in the proverbial "Parthian" style. — διάξαιαν (G. 233). — ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους: because the Persian cavalry turned upon them when they began to retire.

11. καὶ αὐτός, even in person. — οὐδὲν μᾶλλον βλέπτειν, to do them no more harm (G. 159, N. 4).

12. ἦνιάντο ... μαρτυροῖη: he said ὁρθῶς ἦνιάσθε (G. 243, N. 1), καὶ ... μαρτυρεῖ. Translate, he said that they had blamed him rightly, and that the result itself bore witness to them. — πάσχοντας (G. 280).

13. ἀληθῆ λέγειν, i. e. you are right as to what then took place.

14. χάρις: sc. ἵστω. — βλάψαι (G. 266, 1). — μέγала (G. 159, N. 2).

15. ὅσον: sc. τοσοῦτον, from such a distance that (lit. through so great a distance as: G. 161). — οἱ ἐκ χαρὸς βάλλοντες, i. e. hurlers of the javelin. — ἐκ τέξου βύματος, if he had a bow-shot the start of him; cf. ἐκ πολλοῦ, § 9.

Page 78. — 16. Ἡμεῖς with μέλλομεν, instead of ἡμῖν following δεῖ (G. 172, N. 2). — τὴν ταχίστην (G. 160, 2). — καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι (pass.), fly (lit. are carried) even twice as far. — σφενδονῶν (G. 175, 1, N. 1).

17. χειροπληθεῖς (G. 131, 1): pred. adj. (G. 142, 3<sup>a</sup>), the idea being, because the stones they use in slinging are of hand-size. — μολυβδίσκων, leaden slugs (G. 188, 1, N. 2).

18. αὐτῶν: poss. gen. dep. on the indir. quest. τίνας ... σφενδόνες (cf. note on αὐτῶν, iii. 1. 19). — πέπνται (see πάομαι), have, cf. κέκτηνται. — τοῦτε, to any such, as if τίς had been used instead of τίνας. — αὐτῶν, i. e. the slings (G. 178). — τῷ σφενδονῶν ἐντεταγμένῳ, to any one who may have taken the position of slinger. — ἐθέλοντι, of his free will (G. 277, 2). — ἄλλην τιὰ ἀπόλειαν, some exemption (e. g. from severer camp-duty) besides.

19. τῶν Κλεάρχου: sc. ἵππων (G. 168), i. e. horses not carried away by the cavalry who deserted (see ii. 2. 7). — αἰχμ-αλάτους: composition! — σκυνοφόρα, i. e. mules, in place of (ἀντί) the horses now to be taken for cavalry service. — εἰς ἵππους, for the use of cavalry. — τοὺς φερόμεντας, i. e. those mentioned in § 9 and § 10.

20. ἡνιόντο, were obtained. — ἰδοκιμάσθησαν, were accepted.

## CHAPTER IV.

**SYNOPSIS:** Early the next day they resume the march (1), and just after crossing a dangerous ravine see Mithridates approaching with 5,000 men (2). The enemy pass the ravine, but, when charged upon by the Greeks, retreat precipitately (3, 4). The Greeks mutilate the bodies of the slain (5), and then march on to the deserted city of Larissa, on the Tigris (6-9), from which they proceed to a fortress near Mespila (10-12). During the next day's march Tissaphernes makes his appearance with a large body of troops (13). He does not venture an attack (14), and hastily retreats when the newly organized slingers and archers begin to use their weapons (15). He follows, however, close after them (16, 17). The Greeks halt for one day; and on the second proceed through the open country, more or less annoyed by Tissaphernes (18). Finding themselves hampered by the arrangement of the troops in the form of a square, they make a new disposition of the army, and march onward for four days (19-23). On the fifth day they see a royal building, the way to which lies among high hills (24). While descending one of these, they are attacked by the enemy in the rear (25), and are thrown into confusion (26). The same thing occurs on the second hill, but finally they get a portion of their force above the enemy, who then desist (27-29). The Greeks encamp in certain villages (30), where they remain three days, but on the fourth descend into the plain beyond (31). Tissaphernes overtakes them, and they immediately encamp (32). This gives them greatly the advantage (33). At night the enemy retire (34-36); upon which the Greeks decamp, and get so far away that they are not overtaken until the fourth day. The barbarians now have the advantage of an elevated position, under which the Greeks must pass (37); and accordingly Chirisophus orders Xenophon to bring his peltasts to the front. This Xenophon declines to do (38-40), but he proposes that they attempt to gain the summit of the mountain above the enemy, which has been left unprotected (41), and himself makes the attempt with a body of picked men (42, 43). The enemy see the movement, and try to reach the summit before the Greeks (44). There is great shouting in both armies (45); and Xenophon gallantly encourages his men, who finally succeed in reaching the summit before the enemy (46-49).

1. τῇ ἄλλῃ, *the next day*, for τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. — χαράδραν: the bed of a mountain stream, generally dry, such as are now often used as roads in Greece.

2. διαβεβηκόσι, *after they had crossed* (G. 277, 1). — ἤτησε (G. 164). — ἐπισχόμενος . . . παραδόνειν (G. 203, N. 2): his promise was *ἀν λάβῃ, παραδόνειν* (G. 247): we might have had *εἰ λάβῃ*. — καταφρονήσας, *having come to despise* (G. 200, N. 5 b).

Page 79. — 3. ὅσον (cf. εἰς, i. 2, 3, and note), *about*: lit. (as much) as. — παρήγγελλτο, *orders had been given*. — οὗς: subject of διώκειν. — θαρροῦσι . . . θυνόμενος, *to pursue boldly, as a sufficient force was to follow* (G. 277, N. 2).

4. κατελήφα: sc. αὐτοῖς. — ἐστήμηκε: sc. ὁ σαλπικτής (G. 134, N. 1 d). — οἱς ἐφροντο, *those who had received orders*, as subject of ἐθεον (cf. οὗς ἐθε διώκειν, κ. τ. λ. in § 3). — οἱ εἰ (G. 143, 1, N. 2), i. e. the enemy.

5. τοῖς βαρβάροις (G. 184, 3). — αὐτοκτευστοί: cf. αὐτόματος, i. 2. 17, and αὐτό-μολος, i. 7. 2 — ὅτι φοβρότατον ὄραν (G. 261, 2), *as frightful as possible to behold* (sc. τὸ ὄραμα).

7. Δάρισσα: an old name (orig. meaning *citadel*) given to several fortified Greek cities and to the citadel of Argos. The Larissa here mentioned is the site of the modern Nimrud, and it was once the S. W. corner of Nineveh. See note on Μίσπιλα in § 10. — τὸ παλαιόν, *anciently*. — λιθὴν (G. 129, 14).

8. βασιλεὺς, i. e. Cyrus the Great: see note on § 10. — νεφέλη: the cloud hiding the sun was an eclipse. — ἔδωπον: sc. τὴν πάλιν; the eclipse being considered an evil omen. — ἔαλω: see ἀλίσκομαι.

9. παρά, *by the side of*: cf. note on i. 2. 13. — πλείονου: see note on i. 2. 5.

Page 80. — 10. Μίσπιλα (opposite Mosul): this is the N. W. corner of the immense city of Nineveh, the once splendid capital of the Assyrian empire. Mespila is about 18 miles above Larissa (see note on § 7), which distance agrees with the length of the city (150 stadia) given by Diodorus (ii. 3). As the breadth was 90 stadia (nearly 11 miles) and the circuit 480 stadia (about 56 miles), Nineveh must have been a collection of towns and palaces not included within a single wall. The Assyrian empire was overthrown by the Medes, with the help of the Babylonians, about 625 B. C. (See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, Vol. II. p. 391.) Nineveh, however, was not destroyed, but remained a part of the Median empire until this was overthrown by Cyrus the Great in 558 B. C., when the city disappears from history. This Median occupation is mentioned here and in § 7, and this seems to be all that Xenophon knew or cared to tell of the history of this famous place. This is almost as bad as if a mediæval traveller had called Athens "a place which the Romans once occupied"; but surely quite as pardonable as a modern geographer's remark that "Greece occupies the southern part of the *Turkish* peninsula"! The slight notice of the ruins taken by Xenophon shows at once the completeness of the destruction of Nineveh and the carelessness of even a cultivated Greek about the former glory of "Barbarians." From both Mespila and Larissa monuments and sculptures have been brought to the British Museum, especially by Layard. — κογχυλιάτου (nom. -έτης): κόγχη, Lat. *concha*, a *muscle shell*: cf. Eng. *conch*, *conchology*.

11. πλίνθινον: cf. λιθὴν in § 7, and the reference. — Μήδεια, *Medæa*, wife of Astyages, the last king of Media. — καταφυγεῖν (G. 203); cf. εἰλεῖν in § 12 (G. 202). — ἀπώλεσαν . . . ὑπὸ Περσῶν, *they lost their power* (i. e. were deprived of it) *by the Persians*.

12. χρόνῳ, i. e. by length of siege. — ἐμβροντήτους, *thunderstruck*, i. e. stupefied or mad (*attonitos*), perhaps by fright at a thunderstorm. Cf. § 8.

13. εἰς refers to the coming of T. upon the course of their day's march. — οὗς τε . . . ἔχων (sc. ἔχων), *having not only (τε) the cavalry* (G. 154) *which he himself brought with him*: cf. ἔχων ἀνέβη, below. — τοῦ ἔχοντος, *who had* (in marriage), in appos. to Ὀρόντα (G. 39). — οὗς . . . βαρβάρους, *the barbarians whom Cyrus had in his expedition*.

14. τὰς μὲν . . . τὰς δὲ (G. 143, 1). — εἶχεν καταστήσας, *stationed and kept in the rear* (of the Greeks). — ἐμβαλεῖν, *to make a direct attack*.

15. Σκύθαι τοξόται: the name *Scythian* was given to all archers of a certain class, whether they were native Scythians or not. At Athens policemen were called τοξόται or Σκύθαι, because the state sometimes imported Scythian slaves (who were archers) to serve as a city police. — ἀνδρός (G. 171, 1). — οὐδὲ . . . ῥέδιον ἦν, i. e. could not well miss if he tried, on account of the dense throng of the enemy.

Page 81. — 17. Κρησί, construed with χρήσιμα. — χρώμενοι (G. 279, 4, N.). — τοξέειν (G. 280, 1). — ἀνω ἵκντες, *shooting upwards*, so as to recover the arrows more easily. — μακράν: sc. ὁδόν (G. 161). — ὥστε χρῆσθαι, i. e. of use.

18. μείον ἔχοντες, *having the word of it*. — ἀεροβολίστα (G. 129, 3; 132, 2): cf. ἀεροβολιζόμενος, below.

19. ἔγνωσαν, *found out* (G. 200, N. 5<sup>b</sup>). — ἦν συγκύπτει τὰ κέρατα (G. 225), *if the wings are ever drawn in* (cf. εὖταν διάσχη in § 20). — ὁδοὺ στενωπώτερος ὄσσης, *because the road is narrower than usual*: this would be likely in the hilly and broken country they were nearing. — ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας (G. 261, 1, N. 1), *that the heavy-armed should be squeezed out of their ranks* (sc. ἐξ τῆς τάξεως), subject of ἀνάγκη ἔσθιν: the hoplites wore heavy armor, and depended for their effectiveness on the steadiness of the ranks. — πιεζομένους, *crowded together*.

20. τὸ μέσον, *the space between*. — ἐπιτίθετον (ἐπι-τίθημι) τοῖς πολεμίοις (G. 185), *easy for the enemy to attack*.

21. ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, *of a hundred men each*. — ἄλλους (sc. ἐπίστησαν: see G. 137, N. 4): the λόχος had its divisions of fifty and twenty-five, each with its special officer. — οἱ τοῖ (sc. οἱ λόχοι) would naturally have been subj. of ὑπέμενον, but οἱ λοχαγοὶ is added to mark those who directed the manœuvre. — παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων, *led on (their companies) out of the way of* (i. e. *behind*) *the wings*, so as to give the others more room.

22. τὸ μέσον ἀνεξέμπλασαν, i. e. *they filled the space left open*. — τὸ δίδχον, *the interval*. — κατὰ λόχους, *by companies*, i. e. the four enomoties of each company being in file (probably with a front of five); κατὰ πεντηκοστὸς, i. e. in two files, each having two enomoties (or 50 men), giving an entire front of ten men; and κατ' ἐνομοτίας, i. e. with all four enomoties in line. The last would give the six companies a front of 24 files (probably 120 men). It will be remembered that these six companies were to fill the space which would be left open by separating the wings when the road permitted. See note on iv. 3. 26.

Page 82. — 23. ἐν τῷ μέρει, *each in turn*. — φάλαγγος: dep. on πον, *if there was need at any part of the line*. — τέτταρας, i. e. four days' march without adventure.

24. βασιλεῖον, i. e. βασιλεῦ-ιον (G. 53, 3, N. 1; cf. 129, 12). βασιλαῖον τι, *a royal building or estate* on the distant slope. — διὰ, *over*. — ὁσμενοι (G. 138, N. 7).

25. ὡς . . . ἀναβαίνειν, *so as to ascend the next* (G. 266, N. 1). — εἰς τὸ



πρανές, *down hill*. — ἐπὶ μαστίγων, *under the lash*, i. e. scourged to it as slaves: see the account of the Persians at Thermopylae, Herod. vii. 223 (*Selections from Xenophon and Herodotus*, p. 185, § 44).

26. γυνήτων (G. 175, 2): cf. note on i. 2. 3. — ὄχλῳ, *the crowd*, who were εἰσω τῶν ὅπλων, as distinct from the men in the ranks. See iii. 2. 36, and note.

28. ἀπίσαν (G. 233). — ἀνέγαγον, *brought up*. — τὸ ὄρος, i. e. the higher hill (§ 24), from which the smaller hills descended (καθῆκον).

29. ἐπὶ, *above*. — πολέμιον: this and the first πολέμοι refer to the Persians, the second πολέμοι to the Greeks.

30. τῇ ὁδῷ . . . γηλόφους, i. e. *by the road which led over the hillocks*, as opposed to the course of the πελτασταί along the slope of the higher hill.

Page 83. — κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες,  *marching to the same point (ἐπὶ) along the slope (κατὰ τὸ ὄρος) in the same direction with (παρά) the main body*. — τὰς κάμας: see § 24. — λατρούς, *puraks*, selected from the soldiers.

31. καὶ ἅμα . . . εἶχον: we should expect ἔχοντες (causal). — ἵππους (G. 184, 3). — τῷ σατραπέοντι, *by the acting satrap*, or royal governor (G. 188, 3).

33. πολὺ διάφορον, *they found it very different*, i. e. *much easier*: the more common impers. constr. (which many MSS. and edd. have here) would be πολὺ διάφορον . . . ὁρμῶντας . . . πορευομένους. — ἐκ χώρας, *from a position*; opposed to πορευομένοι, *on the march*.

35. πονηρόν, *a troublesome (wretched) thing*. — αὐτοῖς (G. 184, 3, N. 4). — πεποδισμένοι, *hobbled*, praepediti, their feet being tied together by a short cord. — τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα (G. 262, 2). — δεῖ . . . ἀνδρὶ: the dat. for the accusative is *very rare* with the infin. after δεῖ, and it is better here (with Rehdantz) to supply τινά (i. e. *a servant*) as subj. of ἐπιστάξει and χαλινᾶσαι, and αὐτόν (i. e. *the horseman himself*) as subj. of ἀναβῆναι. The idea is: a Persian horseman must wait to have his horse saddled and bridled, and to put on his own armor, before he can mount. — θεοῖβου δυντος: temporal, like νύκτωρ (G. 277, 1).

36. διαγγαλλομένους, *passing the word of command*. — ἐκήρυξε: sc. *the herald* (G. 134, N. 1 d). — ἀκουόντων, i. e. *within hearing of the enemy*.

Page 84. — λύειν is used in a rare (chiefly poetic) sense = λυσιτελεῖν, *to profit, to be expedient*: as in English, *they thought it would not pay*. — αὐτοῖς and νυκτός belong to both of the following infinitives.

37. ἀπόντας (G. 280). — καὶ αὐτοί, *themselves too* (G. 145, 1). — ἀκρουγυῖαν, *spur* (lit. *nail-tip*). — ἐφ' ἣν, *along the base of which*. — κατέβασας (see G. 129, 3): cf. ἀνάβασας.

39. ὃ δὲ λέγει (G. 143, N. 2). — ἡμῖν (G. 184, 3). — οὐκ ἔστι παραλθεῖν, *there is no getting by*. — εἰ μὴ ἀποκόφομεν (G. 223, N. 1).

40. ἔρημα, *exposed*. — πῶς τις ἀπελθῇ, *how we* (lit. *one*) *shall drive*, etc.

41. ἐπὶ . . . στρατεύματος, *close above their own* (the Greek) *army*. — ἐγὼ δ' ἑθόλω, *and I volunteer*: ἐγὼ δὲ is more emphatic, as σὺ μὲν is omitted with μέν.

42. καλεῖται δὲ οἱ: οἱ as indirect reflexive (G. 79, 1; 144, 2), following συμ-πέμψαι (G. 193).

Page 85. — ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, *from the front* (cf. στόμα). — μακρόν, *too far*.

43. Διαβῆ, i. e. *he* (Ch.) *took* to replace the peltasta. — τοὺς κατὰ μέσον: see § 22. — αὐτῶ: Xenophon. — τοὺς τριακσίους, i. e. three of the six companies of § 21; these had been moved to the front when the attacks came from a new quarter. — οὗς τῶν ἐπιλάκτων (partitive): by attraction; the simple form would be τοὺς τριακσίους τῶν ἐπιλάκτων οὗς εἶχε.

44. ἀμυλλᾶσθαι, *to race or vie in speed*.

45. διακελευμένον: agreeing with the plural implied in στρατεύματος (G. 138, N. 3). — τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην, *Tissaphernes and his men*. — Notice the *chiasmus* in διακελευμένον τοῖς ταυτῶν and τοῖς ταυτῶν διακελευμένον.

46. ἀμυλλᾶσθαι: see note on § 44. — τὴν λοιπὴν (sc. ὁδόν).

48. καὶ ὅς, *and he* (G. 151, N. 3<sup>2</sup>). — ἔχων ἑκαρέετο, *marched on with it* (the shield). — θώρακα ἱππικόν: the horsemen carried no shield, and accordingly wore a heavier breastplate. — ἑπάγειν, *to lead on slowly*. — παρίνειν, *to come up*.

49. ἀναβᾶς, *mounting his horse (again)*. — βάσιμα . . . ἄβατα (sc. τὰ χωρία), *passable . . . impassable* (i. e. for a horseman): Kriger makes the construction impersonal, like ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, *it is impossible*, for ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν. — φθάουσι, *anticipate*, with object πολέμους. — γινόμενοι (G. 279, 4).

## CHAPTER V.

**SYNOPSIS:** The barbarians now flee, and the Greeks descend unmolested into the plain (1). In the evening the enemy appear (2), and attempt to fire the villages (3). Xenophon says encouragingly that this shows that the Persians relinquish their claim upon the country, and proposes jestingly that they defend the villages as their own property; but Chirisophus says, also in jest, that they had better fire them (4-6). The generals and captains on assembling are much perplexed about their route (7). A Rhodian proposes that they kill the cattle and make a bridge of the inflated skins across the Tigris (8-11), but the plan is not regarded feasible (12). The next day they march back upon the course they have come (13). The generals and captains hold another council, and question the prisoners about the country (14). They learn something of the roads leading in the four cardinal directions, and in particular of the Carduchi, a warlike people among the mountains, who do not obey the King (15, 16). The generals conclude to make their way northward through the Carduchi (17), and give orders for the soldiers to be ready to march any time during the night (18).

Page 86. — 1. ἄλλην ὁδόν: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — ἀγαθῶν, i. e. *supplies*.

3. ἐννούμενοι . . . ἔχουιν, *being apprehensive that they might not know*, etc. (G. 215, N. 1). — εἰ κάουιν: sc. the enemy (G. 248, N.). — λαμβάνουιν (G. 244) governs ἐπιτήδεια: the direct question would be πότεν . . . λαμβάνουιν;

4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας, i. e. *from helping* those who were scattered in plundering (§ 2). — κατέβη: from the height (§ 1).

5. Ὅρατε . . . εἶναι; don't you see that they admit the country is *now* ours? (G. 280). — ἀ γὰρ . . . ἄλλοτρίαν, for what they stipulated against our doing, when they made the treaty (cf. ii. 3. 27), viz., burning the King's territory, (*this*) they are now themselves (doing, by) burning it as if it were another's: μὴ κάεν . . . χώραν (sc. ἡμᾶς) is in apposition with the antecedent of ἀ. See i. 9. 21, and note; in both cases a more definite expression (here κάουσι) is substituted by *anacoluthon* for a more general one like ποιοῦσι.

6. Οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, I don't think so now. The reply is mere jest, like the preceding remark of Xenophon.

7. σκηνάς, encampment (in the village). — ἐνθεν μὲν . . . ἐνθεν δέ, on the one hand . . . on the other. — ὁ ποταμός: the Tigris. — ὡς μηδέ . . . βάθους (sc. πύθ), so that not even their spears projected when they tried the depth, i. e. their spears found no bottom (G. 184, 3, N. 4; 266, N. 1). Cf. iii. 2. 22.

Page 87. — 8. κατὰ τετρακισχίλους, four thousand at a time. — ἃν δέομαι, what I require (G. 172). — τάλαντον: cf. note on i. 4. 13.

9. Ἀσκήν: bags of inflated hides are still used in crossing these rivers. — αἶγας: derived from αἰσσω, to leap. — ἀποδαρέντα: see ἀποδέρω. — φυσηθέντα refers to δέρματα, hides, implied in ἀποδαρέντα. — παρήχοι ἄν (G. 226, 2).

10. δεσμῶν, girths. — ὀρμίσας, mooring. — ἀφείς, by letting them down: this and ἀρτήσας (G. 277, 2) are subordinate to ὀρμίσας. — διαγαγόν, carrying (the line of floats) across the stream. — ἀμφοτέρωθεν δέσας, fastening them to the two banks, to serve as pontoons, or supports to a floating bridge.

11. ἔξα τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι, will keep from sinking (G. 263, 1): for the gen. τοῦ καταδύναι, see G. 174; μὴ, G. 283, 6. An equivalent (though different) construction follows, ὥστε μὴ ἄλισθάνειν σχήσα, will keep you from slipping, lit. will keep you so that you shall not slip (G. 266, 1).

12. χερσὶν (G. 129, 15). — τὸ ἔργον, the execution of the plan (ἐνθόμμημα). — οἱ κωλύσοντες, men ready to prevent it: cf. note on ii. 3. 5. — πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς: apposition. — οἱ . . . ἂν ἐπέτρεπον: sc. εἰ ἐπεχέρισαν.

13. ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, etc., i. e. they made a day's march backward to some villages which had not been burnt by the enemy (see § 3). — ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, or towards Babylon: these words seem to have been originally a marginal note explaining εἰς τοῦμπαλιν: τοῦμπαλιν ἢ (than) πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα would mean, in a direction opposite to that of Babylon, which is not possible under the circumstances (cf. § 15). — ἐνθεν = ἐξ ἧς (sc. τὴν κώμην), the village from which. — ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζαν, were like to wonder, i. e. seemed amazed, like ἐκέσσαν θαυμάζαν: the text, however, is very doubtful. — τρέφονται . . . ἔχουσιν (G. 243).

14. ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: cf. Engl. "about his business." — ἡλεγχον . . . χώραν, they examined them as to the whole region on every side (G. 164).

15. τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα (poss. gen.), on the road towards B. — ἦκειεν (G. 247). — θερίζαν, ἐαρίζαν: in reverse order: the King spent the winter at Babylon, the spring at Susa, and the summer at Ecbatana. — διαβάντι, after crossing (sc. τινί: G. 184, 5): διαβάντι . . . ἐσπέραν is used like the other adjective phrases with ἦ. — εἰ is repeated for emphasis in the last

clause. — Καρδοίχους: the people called Kurds, Armenian *Kordukh*; the region is *Kurdistan*.

Page 88. — 16. ἀκούειν, *listen to or obey*. — ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτούς, *once invaded them* (G. 203). — βασιλικήν (G. 129, 13 b). — ὅποτε . . . σπείσονται, καὶ ἐπιμυγνῖναι (depends on ἔφασαν): in the direct form, ὅποτε . . . σπείσονται, καὶ ἐπιμυγνῖσσι, *whenever they (the Kurds) make a treaty, etc., some of them also mingle, etc.* — σφῶν, ἐκείνων: sc. τινάς (G. 168, N. 2).

17. ἑκασταχόσε εἰδέναι, *that they knew the way in every direction*. — τοῖτοισ: governed by διελθόντας. — ἔφασαν ἦσαν, *they (the captives) said that they (the Greeks) would come*. — εὐπορον . . . πορεύεσθαι: in the direct form, εὐπορόν ἐστιν ὅποι ἂν τις ἰθὺν πορεύεσθαι, *it is easy to go whither-soever you wish* (G. 233), the apodosis being general in sense.

18. ἐπὶ τοῖτοισ, *thereupon*. — ὅπας: part. gen. after ἡνίκα, *at whatever time*. — τὴν ὑπερβολήν, *the pass*: acc. by anticipation; regularly it would be, *they feared that the mountain-pass might be seized beforehand*. — ἡνίκ' ἂν . . . παραγγέλλῃ, i. e. *when the order should be given*; cf. εἰ τις . . . λυποῖται in ii. 3. 23, and note: this subjunctive might have been changed to the optative (omitting ἂν), as ἐπεδὴ δειπνήσαν is changed from ἐπεὶ δὴν δειπνήσῃ.

## BOOK FOURTH.

HARD FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAINS. — ENTRANCE INTO ARMENIA. — GREAT SUFFERING FROM COLD AND FAMINE. — TO MOUNT TRECHES, FROM WHICH THE SEA IS SEEN. — ARRIVAL AT TRAPEZUS.

### CHAPTER I.

SYNOPSIS: Outline of the preceding narrative (1); and review of the situation (2-4). The Greeks cross the plain by night and reach the hills at daybreak (5); and, with Chirisophus in command and Xenophon guarding the rear (6), cross the height in front of them to villages among the mountains, where they find provisions in abundance (7-9). Their rear, however, as they descend into the villages, is attacked by the Carduchi, who, when they encamp, light fires on the hills (10, 11). At daybreak the generals resolve to abandon the captives and superfluous baggage-animals (12, 13); and, when the march begins, see that the order is executed (14). The next day it storms (15); and, the enemy pressing upon them, they march but slowly (16). At one time Chirisophus hurries forward, and, the rest following rapidly without knowing the cause, two soldiers are killed by the enemy (17, 18). When they encamp, Xenophon blames Chirisophus (19); but he replies that he was trying to secure the only known pass through the mountains (20, 21). Xenophon proposes to make guides of two prisoners (22), who are at once asked whether there is any other road. The one who denies this is put to death (23). The other says that there is such a pass (24), but that a certain height must be taken possession of beforehand (25). Volunteers are called for and detailed for this special service (26-28).

1. See note on ii. 1. 1. — *ἔσα ἐπολέμηθη*: passive of an active constr. *ἔσα ἐπολέμησαν* (G. 159, N. 2; 198); *to what extent war was made upon the Greeks*.

2. *ἐνθα* (sc. *ἐκεῖσε*), *to the place where*. — *πάροδος*, *way along the river*. — *ἐκρέματο*: see *κρέμαμαι*. — *πορευτέον εἶναι* (dir. *πορευτέον ἐστίν*: G. 281, 2). This section is a recapitulation of what has been stated in the last chapter.

3. *τῶν ἀλισκομένων* (G. 171, 2, N. 1), *the captives taken along the way*.

Page 89. — *εἰ διέλθοιεν* has for its apodosis the sentence *ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ . . . περίασι*, including two subordinate protases; it represents *ἐὰν διέλθομεν* of the direct discourse, and the four following verbs might, like it, have been changed to the opt. (G. 247). — *περίασι*, *will pass round* (G. 200, N. 3 b). — *ἄλγετο*: the subject is *τὰς πηγὰς εἶναι*. — *ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον*, *it is just so* (G. 28, N. 1).

5. *τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν*: the Greeks divided the night into three watches. — *ἔσον . . . διελθεῖν*, *enough for crossing the plain in the dark*; *ἔσον* (sc. *τοσοῦτον*) takes the infinitive from the idea of sufficiency which it implies. — *παραγγέλλω* (G. 129, 3), i. e. *the word of command* passed round, not by signal of trumpet. — *τὸ ἄρος*: cf. iii. 5. 7 and 17.

6. *τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν*, *his own special command*: cf. *τὸ ὀπλιτικόν* (iv. 8. 18), *τὸ ἱππικόν*, *the cavalry*, and *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* for *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, *the Greek race*. — *μή, that*, after *κίνδυνος*. — *πορευομένων*, *as they went*, gen. abs. — *ἐπίσποιτο*: see *ἐφέπομαι*.

7. *αἰσθῆσθαι* (G. 274). — *ἔπατα*, i. e. *after crossing the hill and descending*: cf. § 10. — *ἀεὶ*, *regularly*, qualifies *ἐφέπετο*. — *τὸ ὑπερβάλλον*, i. e. *each detachment in succession followed, as it crossed the height*.

8. *ἢν λαμβάναν*, *there was an opportunity to take*. — *εἰ πως ἐθέλοισαν*, *in case the K. should be willing* (G. 226, 4, N. 1; 248, 2): the apod. implied is, *that they might let them through, or the like*. — *ὥς . . . χάρας* = *διὰ τῆς χάρας ὡς φίλας* (sc. *οὔσης*), i. e. *to let them go through their country as (being) a friendly one*: cf. i. 3. 14, and ii. 3. 27, and notes.

9. *ἕτε, whatever* (G. 187; 151, N. 2 b): the indefinite rel. *ὅστις* sometimes has a plural antecedent, when it is itself singular, as here *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. — *καλούντων* (sc. *αὐτῶν*), *when they called* (G. 171, 2).

10. *τελευταῖοι, σκοταῖοι* (cf. G. 129, 12). — *διὰ τὸ . . . εἶναι* (G. 262, 1).

Page 90. — *ἡμέραν* (G. 161). — *ἀνάβασις, κατάβασις*: cf. *παραγγέλλω* in § 5 (with ref.). — *ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου*, *ex improviso*.

11. *ἐκινδύνουν ἀν διαφθαρῆναι*, *would have risked perishing*. — *πολύ, a great part*: cf. *τὸ πολύ, the greater part*, i. 4. 13. — *συνεώρων*, i. e. *watched each other's signals*.

12. *συνελθούσι . . . ἔδοξε*, i. e. *they came together and resolved*: cf. *δόξαν* in § 13. — *αἰχμ-άλωτα*, *taken in war* (*αἰχμή, a spear*, and *ἀλίσκομαι*).

13. *ἔποινον*: the subject is *ἐποῦνγία*, etc. — *ἐπὶ, in charge of*. — *δόξαν, having resolved* (G. 278, 2), lit. *it having seemed good*: cf. *ἔδοξε*, § 12. — *ταῦτα* is governed by *ποιεῖν* understood: see, however, *Moods and Tenses*, § 110, 2, N. 2.

14. *ὑποστάτες, halting*. — *εἰ τι*: translate *whatever*. — *τῶν ἐρηγμένων*

(sc. ἀφέναι), of the things ordered (to be abandoned), or simply, of the things above mentioned (see § 12). — οἱ δέ, and they (the soldiers). — πλὴν . . . ἐκλεψεν, unless one smuggled something. — οἷον . . . γυναικός: we should expect οἷον (for example) ἢ παῖδα ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτοῦ, ἢ γυναῖκα (Krüger). — τῶν εὐπρεπῶν is partitive genitive. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, sometimes . . . sometimes.

16. χωρίων, dim. (G. 129, 8). — ἀναχάζοντες and θαυμά are both poetic words.

Page 91. — παρήγγαλλον ἑπομένῳ, would send word (for those in front) to wait. — ἐπικρίνουντο (G. 233): ἐπικρίσθαι, to press upon; ἐπιτίθεσθαι, to fall upon.

17. ὅτε παρεγγυῆτο, whenever the word was passed. — πρῶγμά τι, some trouble ahead. — παρελθόντι (sc. τινί).

18. διαμπαρὲς τὴν κεφαλὴν (sc. τοξοῦσθαι), shot directly through the head, lit. shot in the head directly through (G. 160, 1).

19. ὥσπερ εἶχεν, just as he was (sicut erat). — φεύγοντες ἄμα (G. 277, N. 1). — καλὸν τε κάγαθόν: cf. note on ii. 6. 19. — ἀνελίσσθαι, to take up for burial, a most sacred duty with the Greeks. The last sentence is in the direct discourse.

20. αὕτη is subj., and μίαν ὁδόν pred.: lit. this which you see is the only way (and) sleep (ἀρθία, sc. οἶσα); αὕτη cannot be taken as an adj. pron. with ὁδός (G. 142, 4). See notes of Krüger and Rehdantz; and cf. iv. 7. 4. — ὅχλον αἰ (G. 151, N. 2). — ἔκβασιν, way out.

21. ταῦτ' ἐσπνέον (G. 159, N. 2). — εἰ πως δυναίμην, in case I should be able; see note on εἰ πως ἐθέλησαν in § 8: here an apod. is implied like ἐνα φέομαι. — οὐ . . . ὁδόν, say there is no other way. For οὐ φημι, cf. note on i. 2. 26.

22. σπερ, i. e. the ambush. — ἀναπνέουσαι: Krüger quotes II. xv. 235, ὧς κε καὶ αὖτις Ἀχαιοὶ ἀναπνέουσιν πόνον. — αὐτοῦ τοῦτου ἔνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — ἡγεμόσιν (G. 137, N. 4): supply αὐτοῖς.

23. εἰ εἶδαν, whether they knew: the direct question was ἀρ' ὥστε; (G. 243). — οὐκ ἔφη: see note on § 21. — φόβον, threats.

Page 92. — 24. ἐτίγχανε . . . ἐκδεομένη, i. e. he happened to have a married daughter there. — αὐτός emphasizes the subject of ἡγήσεσθαι: he said he would himself lead (G. 138, N. 8 b). — ὁδόν (G. 159, N. 5): see note on i. 2. 20.

25. δυσ-πάρ-ιτον (εἶμι): cf. ἀμαξ-ιτός, i. 2. 21, and see G. 132, 2. — δ: object of προκαταλήψοιτο: and unless they (τις) should first (πρὶ) occupy this (G. 202, 4; 247); the direct discourse was εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψεται, ἀδύνατον ἔσται (G. 223, N. 1).

26. πελταστὰς is in apposition with, and ὀπλιτῶν limits, λοχαγοῖς. — εἰ τις . . . ἔστιν, whether there was any one (ἔστιν might have been εἴη after ἰδοῦμαι). — γενίσθαι, to show himself: cf. ἐγένετο (end of § 28). — ὑποστὰς ἐδλοντῆς, standing forth as a volunteer: cf. ὑφίσταται in § 27.

28. ἑρωτῶσιν εἰ τις . . . ἰδοῖτο: here ἰδοῖτο of the direct question becomes opt. after an historic present (G. 200, N. 1; 201, Rem.).

## CHAPTER II.

**SYNOPSIS:** The guide is bound, and arrangements are made for signals and the attack (1). The party starts, and Xenophon proceeds to divert the enemy's attention at the open pass (2), who continue to roll stones down the mountain at the Greeks all night (3, 4). The advance party surprise and kill outposts of the enemy, but make a mistake as to the position of the summit (5, 6). They halt for the night, and at dawn advance against the main enemy, who abandon their position (7). The force of Chirisophus succeeds in ascending the mountain (8); but Xenophon, who takes with the baggage the route of the advance party, is in danger of being cut off (9, 10). He routs the enemy posted on one hill overhanging the road, and they rally on the next (11, 12). Leaving a force on the first hill, he takes the second (13), and a third, and reaches the summit (14-16). A messenger brings word that the Greeks have been driven from the first hill (17). Xenophon proposes a truce to the barbarians (who are now posted on a hill opposite), which they consider; the force of Xenophon in the mean time passing along with the baggage (18, 19). But when he attempts to descend, they roll down stones. His shield-bearer deserts him, but another soldier runs to his support (20, 21). The entire Greek force encamps together again (22). The slain are collected and funeral rites performed (23). The next day the enemy continue to obstruct their progress, harassing them most whenever they are descending hills (24-27). Description of the Carduchian bowmen (28).

1. οἱ δὲ, i. e. Xenophon and Chirisophus. — ἐμφαγόντας, *when they had eaten*. — συντιθενται, *agree with them* (i. e. the volunteers). — τὸ ἄκρον: cf. ἄκρον in iv. 1. 25. — τοῖς μὲν, αὐτοὶ δὲ, i. e. the volunteers and the officers. — ἀνω ὄντας, i. e. *from their position on the height* (G. 204). — λένας and συμβοηθήσαν denote *later* actions than φυλάτταν and σημαίνειν; hence perhaps the change in tense (G. 203, N. 2). See note on iv. 6. 20. — ἔκβασιν: cf. iv. 1. 20.

2. ὕδωρ, *rain*. — ὅπως . . . τὸν νοῦν, *that the enemy might have their attention turned to that road*. — ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν, *that they might be, as far as possible, unseen*.

Page 93. — 3. ἢν ἔδε . . . ἐκβαίναν, i. e. *which they must cross before getting to the ascent*. — ὀλοιτρόχους: a poetic word, compounded of ὀλεω (volvo), *to roll* (cf. ὀλεω), and τρέχω; probably meaning *rounded by rolling* (i. e. in the water). See Liddell and Scott; and Theocr. xxii. 49, there quoted: πέτροι ὀλοιτροχοί, οὕς τε κυλίνδων χαμάρρους ποταμὸς μεγάλας περιέξετε δίνας. The χαράδρα which they were crossing was the dry bed of a winter torrent (χεμάρρους), down which the stones were hurled. Such χαράδραι are now often the best roads to be found in Greece. — διεσφενδονῶντο, *flew in pieces* (lit. *were flung about*, as if from slings): "diffundebantur; cf. σφενδόνη = funda." Rehdantz.

4. εἰ μὴ δύναιτο: sc. διαβῆναι (G. 225). — κυλινδοῦντες (G. 279, 1).

5. ὡς . . . κατέχοντες, *supposing they held the summit* (cf. n. on i. 1. 11).

6. οἱ δ' οὐ κατέχον, i. e. they were wrong in so thinking: οἱ δὲ is irregular in referring to the subj. of the preceding verb (see also G. 143, 1, N. 2). — μαστός, *a round hill*. — αὕτη (G. 142, 4, N. 1): οὗτος may stand between

the article and its noun, provided some qualifying word separates it from the article. — *αὐτόθεν*, from that spot (where they were).

7. *ὑπέβαινον*: cf. note on iii. 2. 1. — *προσελθόντες* (G. 279, 4). — *εὗροναι*, nimble (well-girt): γάρ introduces the reason why only a few (ἄλλοι) were killed.

8. *ἀν-ίμων*, drew up (like buckets from a well): *ἰμάς*, to draw; *ἰμάς*, a thong or strap.

Page 94. — 9. *ἥτοι*, by the same way with.

10. *ἡ διεξευχθαι*, or else be (themselves) entirely separated: the perfect infinitive (G. 202, 2, N. 2) here denotes that the action is decisive; cf. *ἐκπεπληχθαι* in i. 5. 13, and note. — *ἔπορεύθησαν ἄν*: the protasis is implied in the following clause (G. 226, 1). — *ἵπποῖσιν*: subject of *ἐκβῆναι*, i. e. there was no other way for the beasts to get through.

11. *ὁρθοῖς τοῖς λόχοις*, i. e. with the companies marching (with intervals between them) in narrow parallel columns: *ὁρθος* implies that a body of troops has a much greater depth than front, including even single file. See note on iv. 8. 10. — *οὐ κτέλε*, i. e. not so as to cut the enemy off. — *εἰ βούλουτο* (G. 226, 4, N. 1): the apod. is supplied in *ἀφοδόν*, i. e. a way by which they might retreat.

12. *τίως μὲν*, for some time. — *ἴκαστος*: in appos. to the omitted subject of *ἔδυναντο*. — *οὐ προσέλετο*, did not admit: i. e. they did not let the Greeks get near them, but fled. — *καὶ τοῦτόν τε . . . καὶ*: see note on i. 2. 18.

13. *ἔννοήσας μή*, becoming anxious lest (the meaning of *ἔννοήσας* being made more definite by the following constr. with *μή*). — *καὶ πάλιν*, yet again. — *ἐπιθεῖντο*, for *ἐπιθεῖντο* (G. 122, N. 1; cf. 127, III.): such forms follow the analogy of verbs in *α*. — *παροῦσιν*, as they passed. — *ἐπὶ πολὺ ἦν*, stretched out a long way: cf. i. 8. 8, and note. — *ἄτε . . . πορεύμενα* (G. 277, N. 2 b): cf. the Latin construction of quippe with a relative. — *διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ* (G. 142, 3).

14. *ὁ ὑπὲρ . . . ἰθελοντῶν* (see § 5): of the three expressions which qualify the attributive partic. *καταληφθεῖσης* (G. 276, 1), only one stands between τῆς and the partic., the others being placed outside of τῆς . . . φυλακῆς to avoid complicating that construction.

15. *δείσαντας* (G. 277, 2). — *αὐτοῖς*: the barbarians. — *πολιορκεῖντο*, from *πόλις* (πολι-) and *ἔργω* (ἔρκος), is often used, as here, where the force of *πόλις* is forgotten: we even have *πόλιν πολιορκεῖν* (see Crosby's note). — *ἄρα*, in fact; as it proved. — *ὀπισθοφύλακας*: cf. § 9, § 13, and § 17.

Page 95. — 16. *ὑπάγειν*, advance slowly. — *προσμίξαιεν*, i. e. might come up. — *θέσθαι τὰ ἔπλα*: cf. i. 5. 14.

19. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, on condition that (G. 267). — *ἐν ᾧ*, while, introduces both clauses, τὸ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ. — *οἱ ἐκ*: cf. notes on τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως, i. 1. 5, and on i. 2. 18. — *συνεπρήσαν*: see *συπρέω*.

20. *ἵσταντο*, were forming. — *ἤρξαντο*, i. e. the Greeks. — *ἔνθα . . . ἔκειντο*, where the armed force was stationed (see § 16): *κείσθαι* here is like a passive of *θέσθαι* (used as in § 16); the plur. *ἔκειντο* is exceptional. — *ὑπασπιστῆς* (G. 129, 2; 16, 1). — *ἀπέλιπεν*, i. e. got separated from him, left him (without his shield).



21. *Λουσιεύς*, of *Lusi* (or *Lusia*) in Arcadia (G. 129, 10). — *προβεβλημένος*, holding out (his shield) in front of both (G. 199, 3).

22. *αὐτοῦ*, there. — *ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς*, in plastered (or cemented) cisterns. Suidas (s. v. *λάκκος*) says: "The Athenians and other Greeks used to make large excavations underground, round or square, cement them, and keep wine and oil in them: these they called *λάκκοι*."

23. *διεπράξαντο*, managed, or bargained. — *ἡγεμόνα*: see iv. 1. 22-24. — *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*, i. e. as well as they could. — *νομίζεται*: the word *νόμος* "includes all that is enjoined by law, custom, or the general sentiment, and all that is voluntarily accepted in reliance on these." J. S. Mill, *Diss.*, Vol. IV. p. 302, n.

Page 96. — 24. *εἴη* (G. 233). — *ἐκάλουν*, tried to hinder (G. 200, n. 2).

25. *ἀπό-φραξιν*, from *ἀπό* and *φράσσω* (*φραγ-*), found only here and in § 26 (Krüger): force of the suffix ! — *τοῖς πρώτοις* (G. 184, 3). — *ἀνωτέρω γίνεσθαι*, to get above.

27. *ἦν ὁπότε*, sometimes (G. 152, n. 2): cf. iv. 5. 31. — *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι*, even to those who had gone up, i. e. to check them: cf. § 25 and § 26. — *καταβαλόνουσιν*: temporal participle. — *ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες*: the opposite of *ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας*, iii. 3. 9. Note the distinction of *φεύγειν*, to flee, and *ἀποφεύγειν*, to escape.

28. *τόξα*: probably long-bows, which were drawn by bringing one end to (or near) the ground and advancing the left foot (*προβαλόντες*) towards that end (*πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου*). Strabo (p. 772) tells of Aethiopian elephant-hunts, in which three men used one bow, *τῶν μὲν κατεχόντων τὸ τόξον καὶ προβεβηκότων τοῖς ποσὶ, τοῦ δ' ἑκόντος τὴν νευράν*, two of them holding the bow, with their feet advanced (i. e. each with one foot advanced to steady himself), and the third drawing the string. Arrian (*Ind.* 16) speaks of bows which the Indians drew by bringing them to the ground and bracing themselves (*ἀντιβάντες*) with the left foot. In this passage of the *Anabasis*, there is very slight MS. authority for the common reading *προσβαλόντες*. — *ἀκοντίοις*: in appos. with *αὐτοῖς* (G. 187, n. 4): the arrows, a yard long, were picked up and used as darts, being fitted with an *ἀγκύλη*, a loop or strap, fastened at the middle, as a guide in grasping and help in hurling.

### CHAPTER III.

**SYNOPSIS:** The Greeks encamp this side of the Centrites and rest (1, 2). The next morning they see cavalry and infantry across the river, prepared to hinder their entrance into Armenia (3, 4). The Greeks endeavor to cross, but the depth of the water and the missiles of the enemy oblige them to retreat (5, 6). Great numbers of the Carduchi assemble in their rear. They are greatly perplexed; but Xenophon again has a propitious dream, which he tells to Chirisophus (7, 8). The generals offer sacrifice (9). Two young men bring word to Xenophon that they have accidentally discovered a place where the river is easily fordable (10-12). He makes libations and reports to Chirisophus (13). and the soldiers are ordered to get their baggage ready. The generals consult

(14), and the order of march is determined (15). They then proceed with the young men as guides up the river (16). The hostile cavalry advances along the opposite bank. At the crossing, the Greeks throw off their outer garments (17), offer sacrifices, and all sing the paean (18, 19). Chirisophus enters the stream with his men, and Xenophon makes a feint of crossing at the lower ford (20). Chirisophus crosses easily, the enemy flying and abandoning some of their property; but Xenophon is in danger of attack from the Carduchi in his rear. He returns rapidly to the upper crossing, halts under arms, and disposes his men for attack (21-26). The Carduchi advance, and Chirisophus sends aid (27). Xenophon gives directions for a feigned attack (28, 29); and when the Carduchi press forward (30), the Greeks raise the paean and rush upon them and turn them (31), but also themselves retreat rapidly when the trumpet sounds, and cross the river (32). Some of the Greeks are wounded (33, 34).

1. *ἡλίσθησαν*, had their quarters: the word originally means to pass the night (or live) in an open court (*αἰλή*). — *εἶρος* (G. 129, 7; 160, 1). — *ἄσμανοι* (G. 138, N. 7). — *τῶν Καρδούχων* (end of the section) depends on *τῶν ὀρίων*.

2. *πολλά*: as adv. with *μνημονεύοντες*, talking over, recounting. — *κακὰ . . . σὺμπαντα*, evils (so many) as they did not (suffer), even all put together, etc.

Page 97. — 4. *Ὀρόντα*: gen. (G. 39<sup>b</sup>), i. e. troops of *Orontas*. — *ἐπὶ λα* (G. 187, N. 4).

5. *ὁδὸς . . . ἑνῇ*, i. e. the single road which was visible was (one) leading up, etc.: the construction is *ἡ ὁρῶμένη ὁδὸς μία* (sc. *οὕσα*) *ἣν ἄγουσα ἔνεα*. — *ὡς περ χερροπολίτης* (sc. *οὕσα*), (looking) as if it had been built. — *ταύτην*, here, i. e. opposite to this road.

6. *παρωμένους* (sc. *πισίν*), on trial. — *οὐτ'* corresponds with *τέ* after *ἐπὶ*. — *εἰ δὲ μή*, otherwise, i. e. if any of them did attempt to carry their arms through the river: cf. note on ii. 2. 1. — *γυμνοί*, exposed: plur. since *τις* is collective.

7. *Ἐνθα*, where. — *Ἑλλῃσιν* (G. 184, 4). — *ὁρῶσι μὲν . . . ὁρῶσι δὲ . . .* *ὁρῶσι δὲ*: notice the emphatic repetition. — *ἐπικεισσομένους* (G. 280).

8. *αὐτόματα*: cf. i. 2. 17, and note. — *περιρρυήναι*, fell off (sc. *ἐδοξαν*): for *αὐτῷ*, see G. 184, 3. — *διαβαίνειν ὅσον ἐβούλετο*, took as long steps as he pleased (opposed to *δεξιόσθαι*): *διαβαίνειν* in this sense was a good omen for crossing the river (*διαβαίνειν*); see § 12, § 14, and § 15.

Page 98. — 9. *ὡς τάχιστα*, as soon as. — *ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου* (sc. *λαρείου*), with the first victim (G. 191, VI. 2, 1 b).

10. *ἀριστῶντι*, while eating his lunch: *ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι* (§ 9), to prepare lunch. See also note on i. 10. 17. — *ἔξῃη*, κ. τ. λ.: the direct discourse would be: *ἔξῃη . . . προσελθεῖν*, καὶ *ἐὰν καθεύῃη* . . . *εἰπεῖν*, *ἐὰν* . . . *ἔχη* (G. 225). — *αὐτῷ*: with *προσελθεῖν* (G. 187). — *ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν*, to wake him and tell. — *ἔχοι*: sc. *εἰπεῖν*.

11. *καὶ τότε*, and this time. — *ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν . . . κατείδοιεν*: the direct discourse was *ἐτυγχάνομεν* (G. 243, N. 1) . . . *καὶ κατείδομεν*: this true imperfect optative is very rare. — *συλλέγοντες* (G. 279, 4). — *παιδίσκας*

diminutive (G. 129, 8): cf. *νεανίσκος* in § 10, which is a diminutive in form only. — *ῥωπα* . . . *κατατιθεμένους* (G. 138, n. 2), apparently putting away bags of clothes.

12. *δόξαι*: the *oratio obliqua* here changes from the opt. to the infin., as if *ἴφασαν* had already been introduced. — *οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο* (sc. *ἴφασαν δόξαι*), for (they said it appeared to them) that neither could the enemy's cavalry come down to the river at this point: *οὐδὲ* (also . . . not, or neither) implies that this ground for thinking it safe to cross the river here (*δοφάλλis διαβήναι*) is added to the proof (in § 11) that there was a ford, which appeared from the old man and his family having crossed here. — *ἐκδύντες* (G. 138, n. 8 b), having stripped: distinguish the various circumstances (G. 277) of the crossing expressed by the three participles and γυναι (sc. *δντες*). — *ὡς νηυσόμενοι*, with the expectation of having to swim (G. 277, n. 2). — *διαβαίνειν*: imperf. (G. 203, n. 1), representing *διαβαίνομεν*, we proceeded (or attempted) to cross; cf. this with *διαβήναι* (below) for *διέβημεν*, we crossed (effected the crossing). — *πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν βρεῖσθαι* (G. 274): for the use of *πρόσθεν*, see *Moods and Tenses*, § 106, n. 4. Cf. iii. 1. 16.

13. *τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχέειν* (sc. *οἶνον*), to pour out (lit. pour in) wine for the young men: the indefinite subjects of *ἐγχέειν* and *εὐχεσθαι* are easily supplied. — *φῆνασι* (G. 96). — *δνέματα* (see § 8): the plural seems to indicate the several points of the dream. — *πόρον*: referring to *διαβαίνειν* in § 8. — *καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ*, also the other blessings (which had not been portended in the dream). — *ἐπιτελεῖσαι*: depending on *εὐχεσθαι*.

14. *ὅπως ἂν διαβαίεν*: indirect question, representing *πῶς ἂν διαβαίμεν*; (G. 245). *ὅπως* (without *ἂν*) introduces *νικῶμεν* and *πάσχομεν*, the direct questions here being *πῶς νικῶμεν*; and *πῶς μὴδὲν πάσχομεν*; (G. 244, first example). If *ἂν* belonged to *πάσχομεν*, we should have *οὐδέν*.

Page 99. — 17. *ἀντιπαρήσαν*, went along over against them, i. e. on the other bank. — *κατὰ . . . ὄχθας*, at the ford and where the (opposite) high banks were (cf. § 11). — *στεφανωσάμενος*, putting on a wreath, probably one made on the spot. It was one of the institutions of Lycurgus that the Spartans should go into battle wearing wreaths (see Plutarch's *Lycurg.* 22). — *ἀποδός*, throwing off (probably) his outer garment: *ἐκδύντες* (§ 12), acc. to Rehdantz, means undressing themselves entirely. — *παρήγγαλλε*, gave the word, i. e. to do the same. — *ὀρθίους*: see iv. 2. 11, and note.

18. *εἰς τὸν ποταμόν*, i. e. so that the blood ran into the river.

19. *ἀνηλάλαζον*, raised the war-cry, properly shouted ALALA: the *δολυγῆ* was a loud cry or chant, generally a joyous one raised by women in invoking the Gods.

20. *ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον*: see § 3 and § 5. — *ἐκβασιν*, passage out (from the river). — *προσποιούμενος*, feigning: he "made a feint of hastening back to the original ford, as if he were about to attempt a passage there. This attracted the attention of the enemy's horse [on the opposite bank], who became afraid of being attacked on both sides, galloped off to guard the passage at the other point, and opposed no serious resistance to Chirisophus." Grote.

21. *ὡς . . . ἔκβασιν*, with the appearance of hastening to the road which led up from the river: *ἔκβασιν*, as a verbal noun, takes *ἀνω* and the gen. as if it were *ἐκβαίνω*. Cf. *κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν* in § 20, *ἐκβαίνειν* in § 3, and *ἐξέβαινεν* in § 23. — *ἔτανον*, they pushed on.

22. *ἔβουν μὴ ἀπολείπασθαι*, they called to them (exhorting them) not to be left behind. — *συναβαίναν*: *σύν* governs *τοῖς πολεμίοις* understood.

23. *κατὰ . . . ποταμόν*, by (over) the bluffs which reached to the river (cf. § 11).

Page 100. — 24. *καταβαίνοντες* (G. 280, N. 1).

26. *ἀκμήν διέβαινε*, were just crossing: with the adverbial accus. *ἀκμήν* (G. 160, 2), just at the point, cf. *τόπος* in i. 10. 13, and the common use of *ἀρχήν*, at first. — *ἀντία . . . ἔθετο*, formed his line facing them: cf. note on i. 5. 14. — *κατ' ἐνωμοτίας*, by enomoties, i. e. with the four *ἐνωμοταί* (each of 25 men) arranged in line, probably in five ranks. The enomoties had been in column, and they were now to be brought into line by moving *παρ' ἀσπίδα*, i. e. to the left, lit. by the shield (the shield being carried on the left side). See notes on iii. 4. 21 and 22; and on *ἐπὶ δόρυ* in § 29 (below). — *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*, so as to form a phalanx, or line of battle. — *οὐραγούς*, rear-leaders.

27. *τοῦ ὄχλου φιλομήνους* (G. 174), left by the crowd (of camp-followers, etc.). — *παραγγέλλη*: sc. ὁ *Ξενοφών*.

28. *ἰδὼν . . . διαβαίνοντας*, when X. saw them (on the point of) crossing (to aid him). — *αὐτοί*, (they) themselves, i. e. Xenophon and his men. — *ἐθεν καὶ ἐνθεν σφών*, on both sides of them. — *διηγκυλωμένους*, with hand on the thong (ἀγκύλη). — *ἐπιβεβλημένους* (middle), with arrow on the string (sc. τὰ τοξεύματα ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς): cf. v. 2. 12, *ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς*. — *πρὸς τὸ ποταμοῦ*, far into the river (G. 168).

29. *φοφῇ*, ring with the thump of the stone.

Page 101. — *σημήνη τὸ πολεμικόν*, signal the charge (to deceive the enemy). See § 32. — *ἀναστρέφοντας ἐπὶ δόρυ*, facing about to the right, belongs to the subjects of both *ἡγεῖσθαι* and *θεῖν*, as is shown by its position: with *ἐπὶ δόρυ*, towards the spear (the spear being carried in the right hand), cf. *παρ' ἀσπίδα* in § 26. — *ὡς* (G. 266, N. 1). — *ὅτι . . . γένηται*: *oratio obliqua*, as if *εἶπεν* had preceded instead of *παρήγγαλεν*. The direct form would be *ἀριστος ἔσται*, *ὅς ἂν . . . γένηται* (G. 247, N. 1).

31. *ὡς . . . ἱκανῶς*, well enough for mountain regions: cf. *at temporibus illis*, for those days (Cic.).

32. *σημαίνει* (sc. τὸ *πολεμικόν*): cf. § 29. The Greeks had been ordered to retire at this signal. — *τάνατρία* is cognate accus. with *στρέφαντες*.

33. *αἰσθόμενοι*, perceiving that the Greeks were crossing. — *καὶ . . . Ἑλληνων*, even when the Greeks were across the river. — *φεύγοντες* (G. 280, N. 1).

34. *οἱ ἑπαγγήσαντες*, those who had come to the relief (see § 27 and § 28). — *προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ*, i. e. further than they should have gone.

## CHAPTER IV.

**SYNOPSIS:** The Greeks proceed through Armenia (1), and come to a village containing a palace of the satrap (2). Beyond this they pass the sources of the Tigris and reach the river Teleboas (3). Tiribazus, the governor (4), proposes through an interpreter a treaty of peace, to which they agree (5, 6). They then proceed for three days, followed by Tiribazus, and come to a palace and villages (7), where they halt, on account of a snow-storm, and quarter themselves (8). Provisions are found in abundance; but word is brought that there is an army at hand (9), and the troops are again brought together (10). Encamping thus under arms for the night, another heavy snow falls (11-13), and the soldiers are again quartered in the villages (14). Democrates is sent out to reconnoitre (15), and returns with a captive (16), who says that he was out foraging (17), and that the army belongs to Tiribazus, who is preparing to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountain (18). The generals leave a guard behind, and with the captured man as guide (19) discover the enemy's camp and attack it (20), when the barbarians flee. Twenty horses and the satrap's tent are captured (21). The Greeks return to their own camp (22).

1. *πεδῖον ἄπαν*, a perfectly level country: for the case of *πεδῖον* and *γηλόφους*, see notes on i. 2. 20, and ii. 5. 18.

2. *εἰς ἣν κάμην*, for ἡ κάμη εἰς ἣν (G. 154), &c. — *τύρρας*: cf. Lat. *turris*, Eng. *turret*, *tower*.

3. *ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς*, κ. τ. λ.: here they crossed the mountain range which is the watershed between the Tigris and the Euphrates; the Teleboas (generally supposed to be the present *Kara-su*) flows into the Euphrates. "After the river Teleboas, there seems no one point in the march which can be identified with anything approaching to certainty. Nor have we any means even of determining the general line of route, apart from specific places, which they followed from the river Teleboas to Trebizond." Grote.

Page 102. — 4. *ὑπαρχος*: cf. i. 2. 20, and note. — *ἀνέβαλλον* = *ἀνέβιβαιεν*, helped to mount.

5. *τοῖς ἀρχουσι* (G. 186). — *εἰς ἐπήκοον*: cf. iii. 3. 1.

6. *ἐφ' ᾧ* G. (267). — *αὐτός* (G. 138; N. 8). — *μήτε . . . μήτε . . . τε*: cf. note on ii. 2. 8. — *δῶν δέονται* (G. 247): in direct form, *δῶν ἂν δέσθε*.

8. *χιὼν πολλή*: this was in lat. 39°, at an elevation of four thousand feet; it was near the first of December. — *ἔωθεν*, in the morning; lit. from daybreak: the opposite point of view is found in *εἰς ἔω*, i. 7. 1, and *εἰς ἑσπέραν*, iii. 1. 3 (see notes).

9. *ἱερεῖα*, cattle for slaughter (orig. for sacrifice, here for food). — *τῶν ἀποσκευασμένων τινέ*, certain of the stragglers. — *κατείδονεν*, φαίνοντο: in direct discourse, *κατείδομεν* and *φαίνεσθαι*.

10. *συναγαγεῖν*: subj. of *ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι* (without *οὐκ*), i. e. they thought that safety required them to collect the army again. — *ἔδοκει διαθριβεῖν*, it seemed to be clearing up (G. 134, N. 1 e): originally *τὸν Δία* was understood.

Page 103. — 11. ἀλευνόν (G. 138, n. 2 c). — *ὅτε μὴ παραρρηγίη*: see παραρρηγίη; i. e. the snow kept all warm from whom it did not fall off.

12. ἐδόμησε, undertook, had the courage. — γυμνός, i. e. without his mantle (ἱμάτιον): cf. i. 10. 3, and note. — ἀφολόμενος (sc. τὰ ξύλα), i. e. taking the work away from Xenophon.

13. ἀμυγδαλίον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν (sc. χρίμα): for ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν ἀμυγδαλῶν. — *τερεβίνθινον*, of the terebinth or turpentine-tree. — *μύρον*, fragrant oil, probably used as a perfume; while the various kinds of χρίμα were applied to increase the suppleness of the limbs and as protection against cold.

14. εἰς στέγας, under shelter (from the weather), is not a repetition of εἰς τὰς κόμας, which implies that they returned to the same villages which they had left (§§ 8–10). — *ἐπὶ τῆς αἰθέρας*, under the open sky; sub dio, sub Iove: connect with κακῶς σκηνοῦντες, by camping ill.

15. Τημνίτην (a doubtful name): probably a man from Temnus (in Aeolis). — τὰ πυρά: see § 9. — τὰ μὴ ὄντα, i. e. whatever were not facts, equivalent to a relative clause with indefinite antecedent, ἃ μὴ ἦν or εἴ τινα μὴ ἦν (G. 283, 4). — ὡς οὐκ ὄντα, i. e. he reported such things as not being facts, and would have said οὐκ ἔστιν.

16. Πορευθείς, i. e. on his return. — οὐκ ἔφη ἴδεν, said that he had not seen: cf. notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 1. — *σάγαριν* (a Persian word), a battle-axe. — Ἀμαζόνες, i. e. in pictures and statues, with which the Greeks were familiar.

17. τὸ ποδαπὸς εἴη, i. e. the question ποδαπὸς εἰ; the expression is accusative with the passive ἀρωτῶμενος (G. 197, 1, n. 2). — Πέσσης (G. 138, n. 8 δ). — τὸ στράτευμα: by anticipation one of the objects of ἠρώτων instead of being subject of εἴη. \*The accusative of the thing after verbs of asking (G. 164) may denote that about which any one is questioned, as well as that for which he is asked.

18. παρεσκευάσθαι: why perfect? — ὡς belongs to ἐπιθυσόμενον (G. 277, n. 2). — *ἐπαρβολῇ*: cf. ἐπαρβαλλον in § 20. — *μοναχῇ*, alone, lit. in a single way: cf. διχῇ, in two ways. — *ἐνταῦθα*: repeating ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπαρβολῇ, κ. τ. λ.

Page 104. — 21. οἱ before ἀρτοκόποι belongs to φάσκοντες.

22. ἐπίθεσις (force of the suffix ?), i. e. some attack from Tiribazus.

## CHAPTER V.

SYNOPSIS: The next day the Greeks pass the height where Tiribazus intended to attack them (1), and three days later cross the Euphrates (2). The third day after this a bitter wind blows from the north (3), which abates when they offer sacrifice. Many perish (4). The first who encamp build fires, which they share with those coming up late in return for food (5, 6). The next day the Greeks march on through the snow, and many suffer from hunger (7, 8). Chirisophus comes to a village (9, 10), where he encamps with the van (11). The enemy harass the rear of the army, and some of the soldiers, being disabled and left behind, give up in despair (12–15). Xenophon tries to urge them forward (16);

but, failing in this, proceeds to terrify the enemy, who flee when attacked by the rear-guard (17, 18). He leaves those that are disabled with promises of relief on the next day, and going on finds nearly the whole army encamped in the snow without guards (19, 20). He himself encamps there, and at daybreak sends men to rouse the disabled (21). Communication is opened with Chirisophus (22), and the army is quartered in the surrounding villages (23). Description of the village assigned to Xenophon (24-27). He gets on friendly terms with its head man (28, 29), and the next day takes him to Chirisophus, visiting on the way the troops, whom he finds feasting and drinking (30-32). The two generals question the chief at length (33, 34). Xenophon returns with him to his own village, and appropriates the colts found there to the use of himself and the others (35, 36).

1. **στη δύναντο** (G. 247): in the direct form **στη ἂν δυνάμεθα**. See note on the similar construction with **εἶ** or **ὅς** in i. 1. 6.

2. **Εὐφράτην**: this was the eastern branch, now called "Murad-su."

3. **διὰ . . . πεδίου**: we should say, *over a plain and through deep snow*. — **παρασάγγας πέντε** (vulg. **πεντεκαίδεκα**): as a march of 15 parasangs (52 miles) seems incredible under the circumstances, many editors omit **πεντεκαί**, leaving **δέκα**. **πέντε** is adopted here on the authority of one MS. — **τρίτος** (sc. **σταθμός**). — **ἀποκάν**, *blasting* (here with cold): cf. Lat. *uro*.

4. **εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι**, *bade them sacrifice*; **ἔφη σφαγιάσασθαι** would mean, *he said that he had sacrificed* (G. 260, 2, N. 1): **εἶπον** with the infinitive has the force of a verb of *commanding* (G. 202). — **σφαγιάζεται** (middle): sc. **ὁ μάντις**; or the verb may be passive and impersonal.

Page 105. — 5. **διεγίνοντο . . . κάοντες**, i. e. *they got through the night by keeping up a fire of wood* (cf. i. 10. 19: **ταύτην . . . διεγίνοντο**). — **εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν** (G. 225). — **πυροῖς**: the genitive commonly follows **μεταδίδωμι** (G. 170, 2), denoting the *whole* of which a part is given; the rare accusative denotes the *part* which is given. Hence a noun like **μέρος** after such verbs can be only in the accusative. — **ἄλλο τι εἴ τι**: **ἄλλο τι** being one of the objects of **μεταδοίεν**, the common expression **εἴ τι ἄλλο** (cf. i. 5. 1) would have been ambiguous here after **εἰ μὴ μεταδοίεν**.

6. **ἔνθα δὲ**, *thereupon*; but **ἔνθα δέ** *and where*. — **ἔσσε ἐπὶ**, *clear down to*: so **ἄχρι** and **μέχρι** can be used to emphasize **εἰς** or **ἐπὶ**.

7. **ἐβουλιμίσαν** (G. 130): from **βου-λίμια** (**βοῦς** and **λίμος**), *ox-hunger*, *bulimiy*, which was a disease in which the patient suffered from ravenous hunger, *hunger-faintness*. — **καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας**, *coming upon those who fell by the way* (i. e. in consequence of hunger-faintness).

8. **διδόντας**, *as givers*, i. e. to distribute the food: we should expect **δέοντας** to express the purpose. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 109, 5<sup>a</sup>.

9. **ὕδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης**, i. e. *who came from the village to fetch water*; the village-fountain being outside the wall. — **ἐρύματος**, *fortification* (**ἐρύομαι**, *to defend*).

10. **πορεύονται, εἴη, ἀπέχα**: all three verbs might have been opt. or all indic. (G. 243), and there is good MS. authority for **πορεύονται** and **ἀπέχοι**. — **ἔσση**, *about*: cf. i. 2. 3, and note.

11. *δυνήθησαν*, were (still) able-bodied; or it may mean, were able to reach the village, as opposed to οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν ὁδόν, below. But see τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα in § 12.

Page 106. — 12. *διεφθαρμένοι* . . . τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, with their eyes blinded by the snow: the acc. is retained from the (possible) active constr. *διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῖς*, to blind their eyes for them (G. 197, 1, N. 2); τοὺς δακτύλους is in the same construction after *ἀποσσηπότες*, which is passive in sense, having lost their toes by mortification. Cf. note on ii. 6. 1.

13. *ἐπικόρημα τῆς χιῶνος*, help (or protection) against the snow: χιῶνος is objective genitive, as we might say *ἐπικουρεῖν χιῶνα*, like *ἐπικουρεῖν χειμῶνα*, to keep off winter (see v. 8. 25): so in Lat. *defendere frigus*. On the other hand, τῶν ποδῶν *ἐπικόρημα* (below) gives the more common use of the objective genitive, *help to the feet*. — *ἐπορέωτο* (G. 225, N. 1): there is good authority for the more regular *πορεύετο* (like *κινεῖτο*, *ἔχει*, and *ὑπολύετο*). — *ἐς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύετο*, took off his shoes for the night; opposed to *ὑποδεδεμένοι ἱκοιμῶντο* (§ 14), *slept with their shoes on*: *δέω* and *λύω* refer to *tying* and *untying* the leather straps (*ἱμάντες*).

14. *ῥοαί*: the antecedent would be a genitive dependent on *πόδας*. — *παρεπτήγγνυτο*, froze on (their feet). — *ἦσαν καρβάτιναι*, (their shoes) were brogues: Hesychius calls them *ἀγρουκαὶκὸν ἐπόδημα μονόδερμον*. — *νεοδάριον* (*νέος* and *δάρω*). — *βοῶν*, ox-hides: cf. *ἐλέφας*, both *elephant* and *ivory*.

15. *ἐκλειοιπέναι* (G. 109, 2), was wanting. — *τετήκα* (G. 101, 2, N. 2). — *ἀρμύζουσα ἐν νάπη*, steaming in a dell. — *οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι*, i. e. *said they were going no further*; see notes on i. 2. 26, and i. 3. 7.

16. *ἐπισθοφύλακας* (without τοὺς), some of the rear-guard. — *πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ*, by every art and device. — *τελευτῶν*, finally. — "So greatly was the army disorganized by wretchedness, that we hear of one case in which a soldier, ordered to carry a disabled comrade, disobeyed the order, and was about to bury him alive." Grote. This story came out afterwards, when the charge was made against Xenophon that he had flogged his men (see v. 8. 8-11), which he did in a few cases. — *δύνασθαι ἄν*: *sc. ἔφασαν* (G. 211).

17. *εἰ τις δύναιτο*, if they could: cf. note on ii. 3. 23. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 143, 1, N. 2): cf. note on i. 9. 6. — *ἀμφὶ* . . . *διαφερόμενοι*, quarrelling about what they had, i. e. their booty (G. 153, N. 1): see § 12, *ἀλλήλους* . . . *αὐτῶν*.

18. *ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον*, i. e. as loud a shout as they could (G. 159, N. 2). — *ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς*, threw themselves: they rushed down into the dell over the snow-banks. — *οὐδεὶς* . . . *ἐφθέγγετο*, i. e. not a sound was heard from them afterwards.

Page 107. — 19. *ἐπ' αὐτούς*, i. e. to get them. — *ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις*, wrapped up. — *ἀνίστασαν*, tried to make them get up. — *ὅτι* . . . *ὑποχωροῖεν*, that those before them (on the road) did not make way for them: they said *οὐχ ὑποχωροῦσιν*.

20. *ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα*, i. e. what seemed to be the whole army; but Chrisophus with the van was already quartered in the village (§§ 9-11).



22. τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόρης (G. 168, N. 2; 170, 1): cf. note on i. 1. 5. — σκε-  
φόμενος agrees with τινάς implied with τῶν. — κομίζαν (G. 265).

24. πάλους: cf. Lat. pullus; Eng. *foal*. — ἑτακαλῶσα: this number  
is too small (see § 35), but correcting numerals by conjecture is unsatis-  
factory. — ἐνάτην ἡμέραν (G. 161, N.), *eight days before*.

25. κατάγειοι, *underground*: the description is said to correspond with  
the dwellings found in the Armenian highlands at the present day. "The  
descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed  
and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterraneous, and  
entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in."  
Ainsworth, quoted by Watson. — τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος (sc. ὄν), i. e.  
*the mouth (or entrance) being like that of a well*, that is, *narrow* (opposed to  
εὐρέας): στόμα is in partitive apposition (G. 137, N. 2) with οἰκίαι; but  
in the clause with δὲ the construction changes, and we have κάτω (*below*)  
δ' εὐρέας for τὰ δὲ κάτω εὐρέα (sc. ὄντα).

Page 108. — 26. οἶνος κρήνιος, *barley-wine*, i. e. *beer*. — κρατήρην,  
*large bowl*, like the Greek mixing-vessels. — ἱσοχалаίς, *floating on the top*,  
lit. *on a level with the brim* (ἴσος, *equal*, and χεῖλος, *lip*). — κάλαμοι, *straws*,  
without joints (γόνατα): with γόνυ cf. Lat. genu, Eng. *knee*.

27. ἔβα μύζαν, *he had to suck*: ἔβα has here none of its common force  
of an apodosis (G. 222, N. 2). — ὅποτε δυσψή (G. 233). — ἀκρατος, *strong*, lit.  
*unmixed* (a priv. and κέραννυμ). — συμμαθόντι, *to one used to it* (G. 184, 5).

28. οὔτε στερήσουτο . . . ἀπίασιν: the direct discourse would be οὔτε  
στερήσῃ . . . τὴν τε οἰκίαν σου ἀντεμπλήσαντες . . . ἀπιμεν. στερήσουτο is  
middle, with passive meaning. — ἀντεμπλήσαντες, *filling in recompense*. —  
ἦν ἀγαθὸν τι . . . φαίνεται, *if he should appear to have given them good*  
*guidance* (G. 169, N. 2). — ἕστ', *until* (G. 239, 2).

29. ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις, *amid an abundance of everything*: ἀφθονος =  
*without stint*. — ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, *in sight*, i. e. *keeping an eye on them*.

30. ἀφίεσαν, i. e. the soldiers quartered in the villages *never let them go*  
*until*, etc. — παραθεῖαν (G. 240, 1 and 2).

31. οὐκ . . . οὐ, *and everywhere*.

32. φιλοφρονούμενός τε, *with friendly feelings towards any one*. — προ-  
πιεῖν, *to drink (his) health*. — ἐλκεν, *he would draw him*. — ἐνθεν . . . βοῦν,  
*whence he had to drink stooping, sucking like an oz*: we should expect  
βοῦς (sc. πίνα); βοῦν is attracted into the case of the subj. of πίνειν, as if  
the construction were ὥσπερ δὲ βοῦν πίνειν.

Page 109. — 33. βαρβαρικάς, *foreign, oullandish*. — ὥσπερ ἐνεῖς, *as*  
*if deaf and dumb*; i. e. by signs, as they could not understand Greek.

34. οἱ ἱπποὶ: the breed of horses in this region is still celebrated. —  
δαρμός (G. 137, N. 4). — Χάλυβας: the people and the country have the  
same name: cf. Δελφοί. — ἦ εἴη: indirect question for πῇ ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδός;

35. πρὸς . . . οἰκίας, *to his family* (i. e. the chief's), who were in their  
own village, where Xen. was quartered (§ 24 and § 28): for οἰκίης, see  
note on ii. 8. 15. The reflexive ἑαυτοῦ here refers to the object, not the  
subj., of the sentence, αὐτόν being in a prominent position (G. 146, N. 1). —

εὐήθεα, i. e. at the time mentioned in iii. 3. 19; but cf. iv. 4. 21. — παλαι-  
 τερον (sc. ὄντα), *when he was rather old*, belongs to εὐήθεα. — ἀναθρήψαντι  
 καταθῆναι, i. e. *to fat him up and sacrifice him* (G. 265). — τῶν πάλων (sc.  
 τινά).

## CHAPTER VI.

SYNOPSIS: On the eighth day Chirisophus takes charge of the guide (1), who, after conducting them for three days (2), runs away within the night (3). The Greeks proceed to the river Phasis (4), but two days later find their way barred at a mountain pass by the Chalγibes, Taōchi, and Phasiāni (5). Chirisophus halts and orders the forces into line (6). He calls the generals and captains together, and proposes a council to decide upon their course (7, 8). Cleonor wishes to move at once openly upon the enemy (9), but the more cautious Xenophon proposes that they attempt to seize an unguarded point of the mountain, stealing their way to it in the night (10-13). The word "stealing" is the occasion for a jest between himself and Chirisophus, and each exhorts the other to give proof of the soundness of his early education (14-16). Xenophon declares his readiness to undertake the enterprise (17) and predicts success (18), but Chirisophus proposes that others shall go (19). Three of the commanders accordingly volunteer, and arrange to light signal fires when they reach the top (20). Chirisophus makes a feint of leading the army against the enemy (21). When night comes on the detailed detachment goes forward and gets possession of the hill (22), and at daybreak proceeds along the heights, Chirisophus advancing in front (23). An engagement takes place and the enemy are defeated (24-26). The Greeks sacrifice and erect a trophy, and then go down into the plain beyond, where they find plenty of provisions (27).

1. τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδουσι, *he gives him* (i. e. τὸν κομάρχη) *as a guide*. — τοὺς . . . κομάρχη (G. 184, 3, N. 4), i. e. *he leaves the chief's family behind in their village*. — Ἀμφιπολίτη: cf. i. 10. 7. — ὅπως . . . ἀπίοι: the thought of Xen. was ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσεται (sc. ὁ κομάρχης), . . . ἀπίη (G. 202, 4; 248, N.).

2. αὐτοῖς: cf. ii. 2. 8, and note. — λαλῦμένος: cf. iv. 2. 1, τὸν ἡγεμόνα δέσαντες.

Page 110. — οὐκ εἶεν (sc. κόμαι). — ἔβησε δ' οὐδ' (G. 29, N. 1): this is added to account for the guide's escape, not to show the kindness of Chirisophus.

3. ἀποδράς ἔχετο (G. 279, 4, N.). — ἀμέλεια, *neglect*, i. e. in letting the guide escape. — ἐχρήτο: cf. ii. 5. 11, and note.

4. Φάσιν: the famous Colchian river Phasis, for which the Greeks probably mistook this stream, flows into the Euxine from the East. This was probably the upper part of the Araxes, flowing into the Caspian.

5. ἐπὶ τῇ . . . ὑπερβολῇ, *on the pass leading over to the plain*: cf. iv. 4. 18.

6. κατὰ κέρας ὡγων, *leading (his men) in column* (partic. of manner). — παράγων, *to lead along, to bring into line*; the movement by which soldiers were brought into line of battle (φάλαγξ) from a column.

7. *ὅπως ἀγωνιούμεθα*, an object clause (G. 217) : compare *ὅπως γίνονται* (§ 6), which is a final clause (G. 216, 1).

9. *προσγενίσθαι* (following *εἰκός*), *will join them* (G. 203, N. 2). In *Cyrop.* v. 3. 30, we have *οὐδένα εἰκὸς βουλῆσθαι*. See *Moods and Tenses*, § 27, N. 3, and references.

10. *ὅπως μαχούμεθα* is in appos. with *τοῦτο* (G. 215, Rem.), and is the regular form of the object clause ; but *ὅπως λάβωμεν . . . ἀποβάλλωμεν* (in appos. with *τοῦτο* below) is the less common form (G. 217, N. 1). — *τραῦμα* (Dor. and Ion. *τρώμα*) : from *τιτρώσκω* (*τρο-*) ; cf. G. 129, 4 : 128, 3, N. 4.

Page 111. — 11. *τὸ ὄρος . . . τὸ ὀρώμενον* (G. 142, 2), *that part of the mountain which is visible* ; unusually emphatic position of *τὸ ὀρώμενον*. — *ἐφ' : ἐπὶ* here denotes *extent*. — *οὐδαμοῦ . . . ἀλλ' ἢ*, *nowhere else than : ἀλλ' ἢ* for *ἄλλο ἢ*, *other than, except*, has but one accent, so that *ἀλλ'* looks like the elided form of *ἄλλά*. — *ὄρους τι*, *some part of the mountain*. — *κλέψαι λαθόντας*, *to surprise by stealth* : here the idea of *κλέψαι*, *to take (like a thief)*, is more prominent than it would be in the more common and nearly equivalent idiom *κλέψαντας λαθεῖν* (G. 279, 4). The same is true of *ἄρπάσαι φθάσαντας*, *to seize in advance*, compared with *ἄρπάσαντας φθάσαι*, *to be beforehand in seizing*.

12. *ὄρθιον ἵεναι*, *to march up hill* ; *ὀμαλῆς (ἵεναι)*, *to march over level ground* (G. 159, N. 5) : cf. note on i. 2. 20. — *ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν*, *on both sides of us*. — *τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν*, i. e. *what is immediately before him*. — *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, *by day* ; lit. *after (the coming of) day* (G. 191, VI. 3, 3 b). — *τοῖς ποσίν* : to be taken with *τραχεῖα* (G. 185). — *ιοῦσιν* and *βαλλομένοις* (G. 184, 5) : cf. *προῖοσι*, iii. 2. 22 ; and *παρωμένοις*, iv. 3. 6. — *κεφαλᾶς* (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

13. *ἔδόν*, *since it is in our power* (G. 277, 2 ; 278, 2). — *ὥς* (G. 266, 2, N. 1). — *αἰσθῆσιν παρέχεν*, i. e. *betray ourselves*. — *δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν . . . ἂν . . . χρῆσθαι*, *it seems to me that we should find*, etc. : *ἂν* belongs to *χρησθαι* (= *χρῆμεθα ἂν*), and is repeated because the sentence is long (G. 212, 2). We translate *δοκοῦμεν* impersonally merely that we may render the infin. by a finite verb, and so give the force of *ἂν*. See note on ii. 5. 16. The protasis is in *προσποιούμενοι* (= *εἰ προσποιούμεθα*), *if we should make a feint* (G. 226, 1). — *ἐρημοτέρῳ*, *with fewer defenders*. — *μένουιν* : *ἂν* is understood from the preceding sentence, although this case hardly comes under the general principle (G. 212, 4).

14. *συμβάλλομαι* (sc. *λόγους*), i. e. *give my ideas*. — *τῶν ὁμοίων*, *equal citizens or peers*, a name given to the Dorian aristocracy of Sparta. — *ἐκ παιδων* : as we say, *from a child*. — *ὅσα μὴ καλῶναι* : conditional (G. 232, 1).

15. *ἄρα*, *accordingly*. — *μάλα* qualifies *καιρός ἐστιν* : *a very fit time*. — *κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους* (G. 170, 1) ; cf. *ὄρους κλέψαι τι* (§ 11).

16. *ἀλλὰ μέντοι* (more emphatic than *ἀλλά*), *but really*. — *δανοῖς κλέπτειν*, i. e. *formidable stealers*. — *δανοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου* : the penalty of embezzlement might be death. — *καὶ μέντοι*, *and in truth*. — *ὅτιν ἄρχαν*, *to be your rulers* (G. 184, 3, N. 4).

Page 112. — 17. *κλωπῶν* : referring to the preceding jokes on *κλεψή*. — *τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι*, *I learn from them also*, i. e. *besides other things*.

(G. 171, 2, N. 1). — *νέμεται αἰεὶ καὶ βουσίη*, it is grazed by goats and cattle (instrum. dat.): this corresponds to an act. constr. *νιμουσι τὸ ἄρος αἰεὶ* (the herdsmen being the subj.). Derivation of *αἰεὶ*? — *βατά* (sc. *τὰ χωρία*), *passable*; but see note on *βάσιμα* and *ἄβατα*, iii. 4. 49.

18. *ἀπὶζω μένειν* (G. 203, N. 2). — *ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ*, on a level with them. — *ἡμῖν . . . ἴσον* (G. 186), to the same level with us.

19. *καὶ ἀλλά*: observe the spirit of these abrupt connectives.

20. *σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο κάειν* (G. 203, N. 2): cf. *συντίθενται φυλάτταν* . . . *συμβοηθήσαν*, iv. 2. 1, and note. — *ὅποτε ἔχοιεν* (G. 248, 1).

21. *ἐκ τοῦ ἄριστου*, after breakfast. — *ὡς μάλιστα* belongs to *δοκοῖη*.

22. *κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπηρεσαν*, advanced along the heights; cf. *τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα* (§ 24).

24. *τὸ πολὺ*, the main part. — *τοὺς πολλούς*, i. e. the two main bodies. — *ἀλλήλων*: following *ὁμοῦ* (G. 182, 2), which generally takes the dative.

Page 113. — 26. *τὸ ἀνω* (sc. *μέρος*), i. e. their men above: cf. § 24.

27. *στηγόμενοι* (G. 199, N. 1). — *γεμούσας*, full, generally loaded (said of ships).

## CHAPTER VII.

**SYNOPSIS:** They march into the country of the Taëchi; and provisions fail, for the inhabitants dwell wholly in strongholds (1). One of these the Greeks attack, but unsuccessfully (2). It is agreed, however, that the place, to which there is but one approach which the enemy keep clear of the Greeks by rolling down stones, must be taken (3, 4). Xenophon suggests the stratagem of going as far in as possible under protection of the pine-trees there, provoking an attack from the enemy, and rushing into the stronghold after their ammunition is exhausted (5-7). A body of seventy men go forward (8), and the rest wait to see what the result will be (9). The enemy waste their only means of defence (10); and the captains striving with one another for the honor of entering the place first, the stronghold is finally taken (11, 12). The men and women throw themselves over the precipice, leaving their flocks in possession of the Greeks (13, 14). The latter now advance for seven days through the territory of the Chalῆbes (whose armor and peculiar customs in war are described), getting no provisions from the country (15-17). They then reach the Harpāsus, pass through the territory of the Scythini (18), and arrive at the city of Gymnias, where they obtain a guide (19), who promises to bring them within sight of the sea within five days or forfeit his life (20). On the fifth day they reach Mt. Theches, from which they can discern the sea, and the men raise a great shout (21). Xenophon, being in the rear, thinks an attack has been made by the enemy (22, 23), but as he comes nearer he hears the soldiers shouting "The Sea! The Sea!" (24). They build upon the height a great mound of stones surmounted by hides, staves, and captured shields (25, 26), and afterwards dismiss the guide with rich presents (27).

1. *Ταόχους*: a tribe of mountaineers, still known among their kindred by the name of Tao. — *ἐν οἷς . . . ἀνακεκομμένοι*, where they also carried and kept all their provisions (i. e. besides using them for defence).

2. αὐτόσε (to avoid εἰς δ), *into which* (G. 156; cf. 61). — εἰσὶς ἦκαν (G. 277, N. 1).

3. Εἰς καλόν, *in the nick of time*. — οὐκ ἔστι implies a future, as *apod.* to εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα (G. 223, N. 1).

4. εἰσέλθειν (G. 263, 1): we might have had μὴ εἰσέλθειν. — Μία . . . ὁρᾷς, *the only passage is this one which you see*; the construction is αὕτη (sc. ἡ πάροδος) ἣν ὁρᾷς ἐστὶ μία πάροδος. Cf. iv. 1. 20, and note. — οὕτω διατίθεται, *is served thus*. — σκέλη, *πλευράς*: after the passive συντηγμένους (G. 197, 1, N. 2).

5. ἀναλώσωσιν, *use up*. — ἄλλο τι ἢ . . . παρίεναι, *is there anything to prevent us from passing by?* ἄλλο τι ἢ (nonne) is an interrogative implying an affirmative answer (G. 282, 3); so that this question means, literally, *Is anything else (the case) than (this, that) nothing prevents, etc.?* — εἰ μὴ, *nisi, except* (sc. ὁρᾶμεν).

Page 114. — 6. τρία ἡμίπλεθρα, i. e. 150 feet. — βαλλομένους, *under fire* (of stones). — διαλαπτόσασαι, *scattered*. — ἀπὸ' ὧν, *behind which*. — φερομένων, *flying through the air*.

7. πολλοί (pred.), *in great numbers*. — αὐτὸ τὸ δέον, *the very thing we want*. — ἐνθεν, *(to the point) from which*. — μισρόν τι, i. e. the fifty feet called τὸ λοιπόν in § 6.

8. ἡγεμονία, *precedence*. — ὡς ἔδυνάτο, *as best he could*.

10. ἐπεὶ . . . φέροντο (G. 238). — ἀμαξαι, (here) *cart-loads*.

11. μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι (G. 215, N. 1), i. e. *that he might not get by first*.

Page 115. — 12. αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵνους, *the rim of his shield* (G. 171, 1): ἵνυς is a poetic word.

13. παιδία (see G. 129, 8). — ἀσαύτως: adv. of ὁ αὐτός. — Στυμφάλιος: of Stymphālus in Arcadia, famous in the story of Hercules. — ὡς ρήφοντα (G. 277, N. 2): ὡς refers to τινά as the person whose intention is expressed.

15. περὶγων, *flaps* (generally of leather covered with metal) at the bottom of the corselet. — σπάρτα ἑστραμμένα, *plaited cords forming a fringe*.

16. μαχαίριον: for the suffix, cf. παιδία in § 13. — ὅσον ξυήλην, *about as long as a Spartan dagger*: ξυήλην is accus. by a peculiar attraction, where we should expect ξυήλη (sc. ἐστὶ). — ὧν . . . δύναντο (G. 233): ἑσφαττον refers to a custom. — ἀποτέμνοντες . . . ἐπορεύοντο, i. e. *they used to cut off their heads* (i. e. ὧν κρατεῖν δύναντο) *and carry them along on their march*: ὧν belongs (grammatically) to ἐπορεύοντο (G. 206), but the iterative force extends to ἀποτέμνοντες; we might have had ἀπτεμένον ὧν καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. — ὅποτε . . . ἐμῶν, i. e. *whenever they were to be seen by the enemy*. — μίαν λόγχην ἔχον, i. e. *with a sharp point at only one end*: the Greek spears were sharpened also at the butt, so as to stick in the ground. λόγχη is properly the *sharp point* of a spear, but is often used for the whole weapon. δόρυ is the more common word for *spear* (as a whole), though this is properly the *wooden shaft*, δόρυ and ἐρῆς being related to

our word *tree*. — *πολίμασιν*: derived from *πολιζω*, to *build* (prop. a city, πόλις); cf. G. 129, 4.

17. *ἐν τοῖτοῖς* makes the storing of provisions *in* the strongholds more prominent than the carrying them *into* these. Krüger remarks that this use of *ἐν* is confined, in Attic Greek, to the perfect and pluperfect (which mark the action as *completed*) and to verbs like *τιθέναι*. Cf. *ἐν οἷς . . . εἶχον ἀνακακομισμένοι* in § 1. — *διετράφησαν*: a return to the independent sentence, as if *ἄσπε* had not preceded: cf. *ὕπνευον* in iv. 2. 15. — *τοῖς κτήνεσιν* &: the assimilation is here omitted.

Page 116. — 19. *διὰ . . . χώρας*, through the country of their own enemies: *πολέμιος* sometimes (as here) governs the genitive, chiefly (and originally) when it has the force of a substantive: cf. *πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθροὺς*, iii. 2. 5. — *ἔπος ἄγοι*: optative after an historic present.

20. *ἄξει . . . ὄψονται* (G. 247). — *εἰ δὲ μή*: cf. note on ii. 2. 1. — *ἐπηγυόλατο*, agreed. — *τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολέριαν* (sc. *χώραν*): cf. note on § 19.

22. *δασυῶν . . . ἁμβόβωα*, covered with raw hides of shaggy oxen: *βοῶν* is gen. of material.

23. *οἱ δὲ ἐπιδόντες*, those who successively came up; so *τοὺς δὲ βοῶντας*, those who successively raised the shout.

24. *παρεβόηθε*, came up to the rescue, thinking it was an attack of the enemy (§ 22). — *παρεγγυόντων*, passing the word along: *παρεγγυᾶν* is properly to hand over something as a pledge (*ἐγγύη*).

Page 117. — 25. *ἑστου δὲ παρεγγυήσαντος*, some one, whoever he may have been, giving the word: *ἔστις* always has this indefinite sense when it is joined with *-ουν* (*δουσιούν*), rarely with *δὲ* (as here). In v. 2. 24, we have *ἑστου δὲ ἐνάψαντος*, some one or other setting it on fire.

26. *κατέρενε*: that the natives might not remove them: cf. iv. 6. 26.

27. *δαρκικοὺς δέκα*: about \$54.00. See note on i. 7. 18. — *δακτυλλοὺς*: "The free Greek, if not of the very poorest class, wore a ring, not only as an ornament, but as a signet to attest his signature, or for making secure his property." Becker's *Charicles*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

**SYNOPSIS:** The Greeks advance through the country of the *Macrones*, and come to a river bordered with trees, which they cut down (1, 2). The natives are drawn up in warlike array on the other side (3). Xenophon instructs a peltast, who believes the country to be his birthplace, to ask the people who they are and why they are hostile (4, 5). After mutual explanations, pledges are exchanged (6, 7); and the *Macrones* assist the Greeks in crossing the river, and conduct them to the territory of the *Colchians* (8). These, drawn up upon a mountain, oppose their entrance into the country; and the generals deliberate (9). Xenophon proposes a plan of attack by column and not by phalanx (10–13), which is approved. After the troops are disposed, he rides from wing to wing and encourages the soldiers to overcome the last obstacle that lies between them and their long-desired goal (14). There are eighty companies of

hoplites, besides light-armed troops (15). They make their vows to the Gods, sing the paean, and move forward with Chirisophus and Xenophon at the two extremes (16). The enemy's line is drawn apart, and the Greeks at the centre rush to the summit (17, 18). The enemy give way, and the Greeks encamp in villages (19), where many of the soldiers are made sick by eating honey (20, 21). A two days' march brings them to Trapezus, a Greek city on the Euxine, where they remain thirty days, making incursions into the country of the Colchians (22). The people of Trapezus receive them hospitably (23), and negotiate with them in behalf of the nearer Colchians (24). The Greeks make the sacrifice they had vowed to the Gods, and celebrate games (25-28).

2. *ὑπερδξιον*, *lying high on the right*: cf. iii. 4. 37; this word commonly means *high* (with no reference to the side). Liddell and Scott explain it here as = *ἐπιδξιος*, *on the right*. Another reading here is *ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν*, *over the right*, in which sense *ὑπερδξιον* is here explained; cf. *ἐξ ἀριστερῶς*, below. — *οἶον χαλεπώτατον*: like *ὡς* (or *ὅτι*) *χαλεπώτατον*. — *ὁ ὀρίζων*, *the frontier stream*: cf. Eng. *horizon*. — *ἔδει διαβῆναι*, *they had to pass*. — *δένδρεσι*: more common than the reg. dat. *δένδροις*. — *ἔκοπτον*: probably to clear the way, and also to make a road: see § 8.

3. *εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐφρίκτου*, i. e. to frighten the Greeks. — *ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν* (G. 159, N. 2).

4. *δουλεύειναι*: *δουλεύς* is to be a slave, but *δουλόω* is to enslave. (See G. 130, N. 3.) — *εἰ μὴ τι καλύει* (G. 221), *if there is nothing to hinder* (a present supposition): see the answer, *οὐδὲν καλύει*, in § 5.

Page 118. — 5. *ἠρωτήσαντος* (sc. *αὐτοῦ*). — *ἀντιτετάχαται*: Ionic perfect (G. 119, 3; 118, 5, N.).

7. *εἰ δοίεν ἄν* (indir. quest.), *whether they would give*; they asked *δοίητε ἄν*; (G. 245).

8. *συνέικοπτον*: cf. § 2. — *ὁδὸν ᾧδοποιοῦν* (G. 159), *they worked on the road*. — *μέσοις* (G. 142, 4, N. 4).

9. *βουλευσασθαι συλλεγείσιν*, i. e. *to come together and consult* (G. 138, N. 8), as if it had been *συλλεγῆναι καὶ βουλευσασθαι*. — *ὅπως ἀγωνιούνται* (G. 217).

10. *παύσαντας . . . ποιῆσαι*, *that they should give up the phalanx, and should form the companies in columns*. — *τῇ μὲν, τῇ δέ*, *here, there*.

11. *ἐπὶ πολλοῖς*, *many (men) in depth*, implying a movement into this order; below, *ἐν ὀλίγων*, *few in depth*, (the more common construction) refers to the order in which they then were. The two suppositions in *ἦν μὲν . . . ἂν δὲ . . . ὥμεν* include the only possible ways of marching *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*, and Xen. gives objections to both. — *περιτεύουσιν ἡμῶν*, *will outflank us* (G. 175, 2). — *τοῖς περιittois*, i. e. *those by whom they will outflank us*. — *χρήσονται . . . βούλωνται*, i. e. *we shall be at their mercy*. — *οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη* has two protases, both future, but of different forms: see *Moods and Tenses*, § 55, 1. — *ἄθρόων*, *in a mass*: predicate with *ἐμπεσόντων*.

Page 119. — 12. *τοσοῦτον . . . λόχοις*, *to cover sufficient ground with the companies by leaving spaces between them*. — *τοσοῦτον . . . ἔσον*, *so much*

*that, sufficient*, takes the infinitive as an adjective (*Moods and Tenses*, § 93, 1, N. 1): the idea is, *to cover ground enough to have the outer companies get beyond the enemy's wings*. See note on ὁρῶσις τοῖς λόχοις on iv. 2. 11. — οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν, i. e. οἱ λοχαγοί. — πρῶτον for πρῶτοι, which is perhaps necessary here: see § 18.

13. τὸ διαλείπον, *the interval between the columns*: cf. τὸ διέχον, iii. 4. 22. — οἶδες μηκέτι μένῃ, *not a man will stand his ground for a moment* (G. 257): the compounds of σῶ and μή (as here) can be used in these emphatic future expressions.

14. ἔμποδὼν τὸ μὴ εἶναι, *in the way of our being* (G. 263, 2). — ἄμοις καταφαγεῖν, *devour (them) raw*, a common expression, rather stronger than *our cut them in pieces* or *gobble them up*: cf. *Il.* iv. 35, ἄμὼν βεβρώθεις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιο τε παῖδας ἄλλους τε Τρώας.

16. ἔξω γενόμενοι, i. e. with a view to outflanking the enemy.

17. ἀντιπαράθετοντες, i. e. *hastening along (their own line) to meet them* — κενόν, *empty*, i. e. without men enough.

Page 120. — 19. ὡς ἤρξαντο θεῖν, i. e. *when the targeteers began to run* (§ 18).

20. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, *in other matters* (G. 160, 1), opposed to τὰ δὲ σμῆνη (= ἱσμοί), *bees*. — ἑθαύμασαν, *found strange*, is emphasized by καί, which has no exact English equivalent. — τῶν κηρίων (G. 170, 1; cf. 171, 2). — κάτω διεχώρι αὐτοῖς, i. e. *they had a diarrhoea*: διεχώρις is impersonal. — ἀποθνήσκουσιν: dative of the partic., in same construction as μεθύουσιν and μαινομένοις.

21. ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης (G. 277, N. 3), *as if they had suffered a defeat*: in full, ὥσπερ ἂν ἔικαντο εἰ τροπὴ ἐγγένητο, *as they would have lain, if they had suffered a defeat* (lit. *roul*), referring to the disheartened condition of a defeated army. — που, *somewhere*, makes τὴν αὐτὴν less definite. — ἀνεφρόνουν, *began to come to their senses*. — ἀνίσταντο: opposed to ἔικαντο. — φαρμακοποιίας (φάρμακον, *a drug*, and πίνω, *to drink*), *being drugged* (W. 54, 4, 3, γ): for the suffix. cf. θυσίαν in § 25. The idea is, the men recovered from the effects of eating the honey as they would have done from the effects of *drugging* or *poisoning*. "Most modern travellers attest the existence, in these regions, of honey intoxicating and poisonous, such as Xenophon describes. They point out the *Azalea Pontica* as the flower from which the bees imbibe this peculiar quality. Professor Koch, however, states that after careful inquiries he could find no trace of any such." Grote.

22. Τραπεζοῦντα: the modern Trebizond. — Σινωπέων, *the people of Sinope*, a Greek city on the coast of Paphlagonia.

24. συνδιεπράττοντο (sc. τοῖς Ἕλλησιν), *they negotiated with the Greeks*. — ὑπέρ, *in behalf of*.

25. εἶξαντο: cf. iii. 2. 9. — ἱκανοὶ ἀποδοῦναι: cf. ἱκανότερα φέρειν, iii. 1. 23. — Σωτήρι (G. 129, 2 b). — ἡγεμόσυνα (found only here), *thank-offerings for safe guidance*, made to Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμών; the wanderings of Hercules were believed to give him special sympathy with wanderers.



Page 131. — *ἔφυγε σικαδὼν*, was banished from home. — *ἀκύν* (Hom. *ἀκύων*, from *α-* and *κύων*), accidentally. The Greeks looked upon a person who had caused the death of another, even by accident, as a polluted person, and he was obliged to leave the country, at least for a time. The law of Athens — a relic of the Draconic legislation, usually famous for its severity — provided that a person who had committed involuntary homicide should leave the country within an appointed time and by a prescribed road, and should remain in exile until he should become reconciled with the family of the person whom he had killed; but the law protected him in his departure and during his absence, so far as it could, and his property was not confiscated like that of persons condemned to perpetual banishment. Even inanimate objects which had caused the death of a person through no human agency, or when the agent was unknown, were, according to the Draconic law, solemnly tried before the court at the Prytaneum, and on conviction formally cast out of the country as polluted. — *ἐπιμαλθῆναι, προστατῆσαι*: infinitives of purpose after *εἰλοντο* (G. 265).

26. *τὰ δέρματα*, the hides of the victims (§ 25), which were to be offered as prizes in the games. — *θπου . . . εἴη*: the direct words of the command would have been *θπου παρὶ κίας* (G. 248, 1). — *δρόμος*, race-course (from *δραμ-*, a stem of *τρέχω*): cf. *ἵπποδρόμος*, hippodrome. — *τρέχων*, for running (G. 261, 2). — *θπου ἂν τις βούληται*, wherever any one shall please: the future apod. is found in *τρέχων*. — *οὕτως*, like this: placed emphatically after the adjectives which it qualifies. — *Μᾶλλον τι ἀνέσεται*, will hurt himself rather more, and so they will try harder to keep on their feet; as if this were a recommendation of the spot for a race-course.

27. *στάδιον*: cognate accus. with *ἡγωνίζοντο*; like *δολιχόν* with *ἔθεν*, and *πάλην*, etc. with *ἡγωνίζοντο* understood. — *τῶν αἰχμαλώτων* of *πλεῖστοι*, the greater part (being) of the number of the captives, appos. to *παῖδες*. — *δολιχόν* (noun), the long race, variously estimated from six to twenty-four *stadia* in length, probably variable. The adj. *δολιχός* (oxytone), long, appears in the Homeric *δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος*. The *δολιχοδρόμος* ran several times round the ordinary *στάδιον*: for the stadium, see note on l. 4. 1. — *παγκράτιον*, double (lit. complete) contest, one which combined both *πάλη* and *πυγμή*. — *κατέβησαν*, entered (the contest): cf. Lat. *descendere ad Olympia*.

28. *ἀρούς*, i. e. the horses: object of *ἀγαν*. — *ἐλάσαντας* and *ἀναστρέφαντας* agree with *τοὺς ἵππους* understood, the subject of *ἀγαν*. — *τὸν βωμόν*, the stand, probably a mound of turf, to mark the starting-place in the race.

For an account of the further fortunes of the Greek army, see the Prefatory Note, pp. 2 and 3.

## HELLENICA.

[Book II.]

THE Peloponnesian War lasted twenty-seven years, from B. C. 431 to 404, of which the first twenty are included in the narrative of Thucydides, and the remainder in the Hellenica of Xenophon. It arose from the fear and jealousy felt by Sparta and other Greek states at the power and glory of the Athenian Empire, aided by the uneasiness of the subject allies of Athens herself under what they believed to be an oppressive rule. Since the formation of the confederacy of Delos in 477 B. C. — which was a defensive union of voluntary allies under Athens as presiding city, made to secure the Aegean against the possibility of another Persian invasion, — the maritime power of Athens had steadily increased, and the smaller states had gradually been changed from independent allies to subjects of an imperial city. This change is well explained in Chapters XLIV. and XLV. of Grote's History of Greece. The splendor of Athens reached its height under Pericles, the most illustrious of her statesmen (who died in 429 B. C.); and her Dorian neighbors in Sparta, Corinth, Megara, and Thebes were now ready to combine for her destruction. In 432 B. C. the disputes between Corinth and Athens about the Corinthian colonies of Corcyra and Potidaea gave a plausible pretext for war, and war was at once declared. But, as Thucydides tells us, the war arose chiefly from the alarm felt by Sparta at the extent of the Athenian power, and her dread of its further increase. The war began in the spring of 431 B. C.; and it ended in the spring of 404 B. C. with the surrender of Athens, which is described in the first extract from the Hellenica. The power of Athens had been seriously crippled by the disastrous expedition to Syracuse (B. C. 415–413); it was finally broken by the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Aegospotami, as related in the chapter immediately preceding the narrative here given.

Aegospotami, or Goat's River, was a station on the European side of the Hellespont, opposite the Asiatic town of Lampsacus, which had just been captured by Lysander, the Spartan commander. It was "an open beach, without harbor, without good anchorage, without either houses or inhabitants or supplies"; and was chosen by the Athenian commander, merely to compel Lysander to an engagement. Each morning the fleet would cross the strait in line of battle, but the Spartan forces kept close under shelter of their port. Each day it withdrew to its anchorage, followed only by a few scout-boats to watch the disembarking; and then the men would stray on

shore for provisions, as far as Sestos, a few miles below. For five days the same scene was repeated. In vain Alcibiades, then living in exile near by, warned the generals of the exposed condition of their fleet, and urged that they should at least fall back to the safe and friendly harbor of Sestos; he was dismissed with the taunt that they were now in command, not he. "At length, on the fifth day, Lysander ordered the scout-ships, which he sent forth to watch the Athenians on their return, to hoist a bright shield as a signal as soon as they should see the ships at their anchorage, and the crews ashore in quest of their meal." The moment he beheld this welcome signal, he gave orders to his entire fleet to row across the strait as swiftly as possible, while the land forces marched along the strand in case of need. The fleet was taken by complete surprise. A squadron of twelve vessels under Conon, with the sacred ship called *Paralos*, escaped. All the remainder, nearly one hundred and seventy in number, were captured on the shore, defenceless, and seemingly without the least attempt on the part of any one to resist. This sweeping victory was won without the loss of a ship, almost without the loss of a man. Of more than thirty thousand prisoners, all the Athenians, some three or four thousand, were put to death. It had been charged against them that they had resolved, if victorious, to cut off the right hands of all their prisoners; and one of their generals, Philocles, had put to death the captured crews of two ships, allies of the Lacedæmonians, by hurling them headlong from a precipice. Charges like these, at the end of a long and obstinate war, account for the vindictive and bitter temper of the conquerors. (See Grote, Ch. LXV.)

The battle at Aegospotami was fought in September, B. C. 405. Byzantium surrendered directly after; Lysander permitting its garrison, with other Athenians found there or elsewhere, to sail to Athens, "but nowhere else," says Xenophon, "for he knew that the more there were gathered in the city and Piræus, the sooner they would be brought to straits by famine."

II. 3. Παράλον: the *Paralos* ("Seaboard") and the *Salaminia* were two sacred vessels maintained by Athens, and used in the service of the government. They carried deputations to the sacred festivals, and embassies; and were sometimes used to bring state criminals to Athens, as in the case of Alcibiades in 415 B. C. — νυκτός (G. 179, 1). — ἡ ξυμφορά (= συμφορά), the disaster to the fleet at Aegospotami: ξύν is often used for σύν in the older Attic. — Πειραιῶς, the Piræus was the principal port of Athens; it was fortified, and connected with the city (ἄστυ) which was four and a half miles distant by the two long walls of Pericles. (See the plan at the end of the volume.) — ὁ ἔτερος . . . παραγγέλλον: we should expect the gen. absol., but the nominative is in apposition with the

nominaive implied in the verbal noun *οἰμωγή* (as if *ἔμωζον* had been used).

Page 122.—*πενθοῦντες*, agreeing with the subject implied in *οὐδείς*, as if it had been, *all were sleepless*. — *πείσσεσθαι*, *that they were to suffer* (G. 246). — *οἷα ἐποίησαν*: see G. 247 (last example) and N. 2. — *Μη-λίους*: Melos, a Spartan colony, had been subjugated by Athens in 416 B. C.; the men of military age were put to death, and the women and children were enslaved.

4. *ἔδοξε*, *they voted*, lit. *it pleased them*: the expression is the same which was used in the Athenian decrees, *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ*. — *ἀποχέωσαι* (v. *ἀποχώννυμι*), *to block the channel*. — *περὶ ταῦτα*, *thus employed*.

5. *ναυσίν* (G. 188, 5). — *κατεσκευάσατο*, *established*, i. e. in the form of "an oligarchy of ten native citizens, chosen from among his most daring and unscrupulous partisans, to govern in conjunction with the Lacedaemonian harmost." — *τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης*, often without *χωρία*, a common expression for the coast of Thrace.

6. *ἀφειστήκε*, *had (already) revolted*. — *Ἀθηναίων* (gen. governed by *ἀπο-* in *ἀφειστήκε*, G. 193), *from the Athenians*. — *σφαγὰς . . . ποιήσαντες*, *having made a massacre of the aristocrats*: this massacre took place eight years before, but was recent enough to forbid the Samians to hope for mercy.

7. *Δακίλειαν*: a post in Attica, whence Agis, the Spartan king, was now threatening the city. — *οἱ*: understand *λέγοντάς τινας*, or *ἀγγέλλοντας* after *ἔπειψε*. — *προσπλεῖ* (G. 243). — *τοῦ ἑτέρου*, *the other* of the two kings, Agis being one.

8. *ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ*, the common reading, would be an unusual expression for *in the gymnasium called the Academy*. Perhaps we may insert a comma after *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, and take the following words in apposition with *Ἀκαδημίᾳ*, *in the Academy, viz. in the gymnasium thus named*. Many scholars consider the last three words as an interpolation. The Academy (i. e. the grove of the hero Academus) was northwest of the city, on the Sacred Way leading to Eleusis. It was afterwards made famous by Plato, who used it as his place of instruction; and its name is thus a familiar word in all modern languages.

9. *Αἴγινα*: in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (431 B. C.), the Athenians expelled the Aeginetans with their families from their island, and the Spartans allowed them to settle in Thyrea. — *ἀπέδωκε* implies that Lysander restored Aegina to its former inhabitants. — *δοσὺς ἰδύνατο πλείστον*, *the greatest number which he was able (to collect)*, like *ὡς πλείστον* or *οἱ πλείστον*. — *ὡς αὖτως*, *likewise*, adv. of *ὁ αὐτός*, *the same*. — *Μη-λίους*: see note on § 3 above. — *τῆς αἰτῶν*, sc. *χώρας* (G. 141, N. 4). — *ᾗρδεν τὸν Πειραιᾶ*, *he came to the Piræus and anchored there*.

10. *τί χρὴ ποιεῖν* (G. 243).

Page 123.—*ὄντων* (G. 277, 2.)—*σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν*, *security against suffering*, the *μὴ* strengthening the negative idea (of *prevention*) implied in *σωτηρίαν* (G. 263, 1). — *ἃ . . . μικροπολίτας*, *what they had not done for punishment, but had done unjustly* (*ἡδίκουν*) *through insolence to men of the small states*: *ἃ* is direct object of *ἐποίησαν* and cognate object of *ἡδίκουν*. — *οὐδ' ἐπὶ μῦθῳ*, more emphatic than *ἐπ' οὐδεμίᾳ*. — *ἐκείνους*, the Lacedaemonians.

11. *ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες*: they passed a vote of amnesty, *restoring to full civic rights* all who had forfeited any of those rights (i. e. who had become *ἄτιμοι*) either as public debtors or by sentence of the law. After this vote, the citizens met in the acropolis and pledged themselves to harmony. — *ἀποθησκομένων* (G. 277, 5.) — *ἔχοντες*, *keeping*. — *ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς*, *on these conditions*.

12. *εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*. — *κύριος αὐτός* (G. 136, N. 3 a): *αὐτός* is adjective pronoun, *himself* (145, 1).

13. *πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς*: as Sellasia is generally said to be in Laconia, *πλησίον* should perhaps be omitted here. — *οἷα*, sc. *τοιαῦτα*. — *ἀντίθεν*, *instantly*. — *εἰ δέονται* (G. 247). — *τι*, *at all*. — *κάλλιον* (G. 75).

14. *ἦκον* (G. 200, N. 3). — *ἐπέπεσε*, v. *ἐμπέπτω*. — *ὥς ἂν πέμπωσιν*, *while they should be sending* (G. 247; 202, 1): *ὥς πέμπουσιν* might have been used.

15. *Δακεδαimoniούς*, dat. with *εἰρήνην ποιῆσθαι* (G. 186, N. 1). — *ἐφ' οἷς προεκαλοῦντο*, *on the terms which they offered* (G. 153, N. 1). — *ἐκάτερον*, i. e. *each of the two long walls* leading to the Piræus; see note on § 20, below. — *μὴ ἔσθαι* depends on the verbal force of *ψήφισμα* (G. 261, 1, N.).

16. *εἰ βούλονται*, *if they wished* (G. 247): the direct form of the sentence following *ὅτι* would be, *εἰ βούλοσθαι με πέμψαι, ἥξω εἰδὼς πότῃρον ἀντίχουσι*, &c. — *Δακεδαimoniούς* is by *anticipation* object of *εἰδὼς*, instead of being subj. nominative of *ἀντίχουσι*. — *ἥ* connects *βουόμενοι* (G. 277, 2) to *πίστως ἕνεκα* (*in order to secure good faith*).

Page 124.—*ὅ τι τις λέγοι*, *whatever any one might propose* (G. 248). — *ὁμολογήσαν* (G. 202, 3, N.).

17. *τίως*, *for some time*. — *κατέχοι* and *καλέοι* are instances of the rare imperfect optative, representing *κατέχε* and *ἐκέλευε* of the direct discourse, which would regularly be retained in such cases (G. 243, N. 1). — *εἶναι*, sc. *ἔφη*. — *κύριος* (G. 136, N. 3 a). — *ὃν ἐρωτῶτο*, *of what he* (Lysander) *was asked* (G. 153, N. 1), the direct form being *ὃν ἐρωτῶμαι* (indic.). — *δέκατος αὐτός*, a common expression for *one of ten*, generally applied to the principal person in the number mentioned.

18. *ἀγγελοῦντα* (G. 277, 3) *ὅτι ἀπεκρίναιτο*, *to inform them that he had replied*, &c. (the message was *ἀπεκρίνατο Δίονυδρος*, &c.).

19. *ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ*, *in what capacity*. — *καλεῖν ἐκέλευον*, *gave orders to*

*summon them.* — μή σπένδεσθαι, [urging] *to make no terms.* — ξαιρείν, sc. τὴν πόλιν.

20. οὐκ ἔφασαν . . . ἀνδραποδεῖν, *refused to [said they would not] enslave, &c.* It is said that, when a Theban delegate advocated the destruction of Athens, a Spartan replied, that he would not put out one of the eyes of Greece, and leave her ἑτερόφθαλμον. The same argument was used at Athens in favor of helping Sparta, after the battle of Leuctra, in 371 B. C. — ἀνδραποδεῖν (G. 110, II. N. 1 c). — ἐποιούντο, *offered to make* (G. 200, N. 2). — ἐφ' ᾧ . . . ἔπεισθαι (G. 267). — τὰ μακρὰ τάχῃ: probably only the two long walls leading to the Piræus are meant; as the third or Phaleric wall, leading to the old port of Phalerum, was now of less account, since the Piræus had been strongly fortified and connected with the city by two walls. — καθέντας (v. καθήμι), *restoring.* — τὸν αὐτόν, &c., lit. *regarding as foe and friend the same* with the Lacedæmonians.

21. μή ἤκουν, *lest they might have come* (G. 200, N. 3; 202, 2). — οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐν γάρασι μένειν, *for there was no longer room (γάρα) for delay.*

22. ἐφ' οἷς . . . ποιοῦντο, *the terms on which (they said) the L. offered to make peace:* ποιοῦντο representing ποιοῦνται of the direct form (G. 248, 4): see ἐποιούντο in § 20, above.

Page 125. — πρ' αὐλητρίδων, *to the music of flute-girls.*

III. 1. τῷ ἐπώννῳ ἔτα, *the year beginning at midsummer 404 B. C., the first year of the ninety-fourth Olympiad.* — ἐν . . . οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, *whom the Athenians do not name*, i. e. among the ἀρχόντες ἐπώννυμοι: the first of the nine Archons gave his name to the year, whence he was called the *Eponymus*. — ἀναρχία: the word ἀναρχία was entered in the public records for this year instead of the name of Pythodorus. — There are strong reasons for believing all of § 1, except τῷ δ' ἐπώννῳ ἔτα, to be an interpolation; it will be seen that the other words break the construction of the sentence, which becomes grammatical only by taking τῷ . . . ἔτα with ἔδοξε in § 2.

2. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, *the people voted:* see note on II. 4, above. — οἱ . . . συγγράψουσι (G. 236, N. 3), *who were to compile, &c.:* see note on § 11, below.

The omitted sections (4–10) refer to matters in Thessaly and Syracuse (under the tyrant Dionysius), to the surrender of Samos to Lysander, and to Lysander's return to Sparta.

11. ἐφ' ὅτε συγγράψαι (G. 267), equivalent to οἱ συγγράψουσι in § 2. — πολιτεύουσιντο is an indirect statement (G. 248, 4) of the idea of the Athenians in choosing the Thirty: in § 2 the indicative of the direct form is retained. For the middle voice, see G. 199, N. 1. — ἀεὶ ἔμελλον, *they continually delayed.*

12. ζώντας and ὄντας (G. 246; 280). — βαρεῖς, *odious.* — ἐπ' ἡγοῦν θανάτου, *arraigned capitally* (G. 178, last example). — αὐτῶν (G. 173, 2, N.).

Page 126. — *δοσι ξυνήδσαν ... ὄντες* (G. 280, N. 2).

13. *ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη ... ὅπως βούλοιντο*, how they might get the power to treat the city as they pleased; indirect question, representing *πῶς ἂν ἐξείη ἡμῖν τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βουλοίμεθα* (G. 245; 247, N. 3). The first *ὅπως* is an indirect interrogative (like *πῶς*); the second is relative (G. 232, 4). — *φρουροὺς σφίσι ξυμπράξει εἶλθιν*, to help bring it about that guards should come to them, i. e. to aid in having guards sent them: *σφίσι* refers to the Thirty (G. 144, 2). — *ὥς ... καταστήσαιντο* (G. 239, 2; 248, 3). — *θρέψαι* (G. 17, 2, N.; 203, N. 2). — Compare *αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι* with *σφίσιν εἶλθιν* above: as *Δύσανδρος* is subject of *ξυμπράξεν*, *σφίσιν* would have been incorrect here.

14. *ὥς ... πράττειν* (G. 248, N.): the idea of the Thirty was *ὥς πάντα ἐπαινῇ ἢ ἂν πράττωμεν* (or *ἢ πράττομεν*), that he may praise everything which we may do (or everything which we do). — *τῶν φροϊρῶν*, depending on the omitted antecedent of *οὗς*. — *ἥκιστα ... ἀνέχεσθαι*, representing *ἥκιστα ... ἀνέχονται*, they [are men who] least endure being thrust out (unless *ἂν* is omitted by accident before *ἀνέχεσθαι*, or unless *ἂν* in the next clause affects *ἀνέχεσθαι* also). — *πλείστους ἂν ... λαμβάνειν*, would get most adherents (G. 211): the protasis is expressed in *ἐπιχερούντας*, = *ἐλ ἐπιχεροῖεν* (G. 226, 1).

15. *ἐπὶ τὸ ... ἀποκτείναν* (G. 262, 1). — *ἄτε ... φυγῶν*, inasmuch as he had been exiled (G. 277, N. 2): *φεύγειν* often means to be exiled; hence *ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου* follows, as if the verb were passive (G. 197, 1). — *ἐλ τις τιμῶτο ... ἐργάζετο*, in case one was honored, &c. depends as protasis on *ἀντίκοπτε λέγων*, and not on *εἴη*: if it belonged to the indirect discourse after *δοι*, we should expect *τιμῶτο* or *τιμᾶται*, &c.

16. *οἰκέως ἐχρήτο*, treated as a friend. — *δοι οὐκ ἐγγυροῖη*, that it was not possible (lit. there was no room). — *μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι*, not to put out of the way (G. 283, 7): when we should have (affirmatively) *ἐγγυροῖ μὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν*, we may have (negatively) *οὐκ ἐγγυροῖ μὴ οὐ τοῦτο ποιεῖν*. — *ἥττον τι* belongs to *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*. — *ὥσπερ τυραννίδος*, as a tyranny: the meaning is, if you think that our large number prevents our government from being in spirit a tyranny (properly a rule of one), and from requiring the same vigilance as a tyranny, you are a fool.

17. *δῆλοι*, evidently (G. 138, N. 7; 280, N. 1). — *ξυνιστάμενοι*, banding together (in a threatening way).

Page 127. — *ἐλ μὴ ... λήψοιτο ... ἔσονται*, representing *ἐλ μὴ ... λήψεται* (G. 223, N. 1), *ἀδύνατον ἔσται* (G. 202, 4). — *τις*, they (by the English idiom); for we should say *unless we take* for *ἐλ μὴ τις λήψεται* in the direct form.

18. *συρρῆψαν*, v. *συρρέω*. — *καταλέγουσι*, register them in the list (*κατάλογος*, catalogue) mentioned in § 20. — *τοὺς μετέξοντας δὲ*, who (as they said) were to take part in the administration (G. 277, 3): we might have had *οὗ μετέξουσι* (see § 2, above).

19. *κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι* belongs at once with *βουλομένους* and with *τρισχίλους*, *that, wishing to make the best of the citizens partners, they made three thousand of them partners*. — *τό* before *πρῶτον* belongs to *ποιήσασθαι*, which is the subject of *δοκοῖη*: we should expect another infinitive after *ἔπειτα δέ*, but after the new verb *ὁρῶ* the construction changes to that of the participle (G. 280). — *ὥσπερ . . . εἶναι*, *as if this number* (three thousand) *must needs be honorable men*: *ἔχον ἀνάγκην τινα ποιεῖν τι* is to be *under some necessity of doing something* (G. 261, I, N. 1). For the accusative absolute see G. 278, 2, N; for *ὥσπερ*, G. 277, N. 3. — *οἶόν τε εἴη* is irregularly added, by an entire change in the form of the sentence, as if *εἰ* *ἔχοι* had been used after *ὥσπερ* in the preceding clause, instead of the conditional participle *ἔχοντα* (G. 277, 4). Here *οἶόν τε* *ὅν* would have been the regular form after *ὥσπερ* (without *εἰ*), *as if it were possible*; *εἴη* representing *εἰ . . . ἔστιν* in the words of Theramenes, as *δοκοῖη* (above) represents *δοκεῖ*. — *γενέσθαι* has *τινάς* understood as its subject, and is followed by *σπουδαίους* and *πονηροὺς* in the predicate. — *κατασκευαζομένους* is added, by a sort of apposition, to explain *πράττοντας*. — *ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων*, *weaker than its subjects*.

20. *οἱ δ' ἔτίσασιν*, &c. The meaning of this obscure description seems to be as follows. The Thirty held a general review of all the citizens capable of bearing arms; but while the Three Thousand were reviewed together in the market-place, the other citizens were scattered over the city in small detachments (*ἄλλων ἀλλαγῶν*). Then, while the ordinary citizens were dismissed for dinner or some other purpose (*ἀπεληλύθεσαν*), leaving their arms stacked at the places of review, a general call to arms was suddenly sounded (*καλέσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα*); on which the Spartan garrison (*φρουροί*) and those citizens who understood the plot rushed and seized the arms of the unsuspecting citizens before the latter could return and secure them. — *ἐκεῖνοι*, those who were *ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου*. — *ἐν τῇ ναῖ*, *in the temple*, i. e. the Parthenon.

21. *ὡς ἔδόν*, *since (as they thought) it was in their power* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ὅ τι βούλονται* (G. 248). — *τῶν μετοίκων*, *resident foreigners*, living at Athens chiefly for purposes of trade, without political rights; as many of them were rich, they were selected as victims. Lysias (in Eratosth. § 2) says that the Thirty seized *ten μέτοικοι* in this way, including two poor men in the number lest the purity of their motives should be suspected. — *ἀποσημήνασθαι*, *to confiscate* (properly *to put a seal upon*).

During this reign of terror, the orator Lysias was arrested by order of the Thirty while he was entertaining friends at dinner; but he escaped from custody and fled to Megara. His brother Polemarchus, however, was arrested in the street by Eratosthenes, one of the tyrants, and was put to death without trial, and without so much as hearing the offence with which he was charged. The house of Polemarchus was plundered, even the golden ear-rings were torn from the ears of his wife, and his family were dependent on the charity of friends for the means of giving him a decent



burial. Lysias describes these terrible scenes in his oration against Eratosthenes, whom he afterwards prosecuted for the murder of Polemarchus.

22. *ὅτινα βούλοιο* (G. 248, 1): this use of the optative must not be confounded with that seen in *παρ' ὃν λαμβάνοιεν*, below (G. 233). — *φάσκοντας*, while we declare.

Page 128.—*μηδέν* (G. 283, 4). — *τῷ παντί*, in every way.

23. *ἐμποδὼν τῷ ποιεῖν* (G. 262, 2; 185). — *ἰδίᾳ* . . . *ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον*, privately; one to this man, one to that.

24. *πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ*, more than is fitting (lit. seasonable). — *μεθίστανται*, are changing. — *τοῖς* . . . *μεθιστῶσι*, those who are changing (the government). — *διὰ τὸ* . . . *εἶναι*, because the city is; *διὰ τὸ* . . . *τεθράφθαι*, because the people have been reared (G. 202, 2).

25. *τοῖς οἰοῖς ἡμῶν*, to such as we (G. 153, N. 5). — *οἱ βέλτιστοι*, the aristocracy (the better class), opposed to the *δημος*, the mass of the people.

26. *ἐν αἰσθανόμεθα* (G. 225). — *ἐκποδὼν ποιοῦμεθα*, put out of our way.

27. *οἷς δύναται*, by whatever means he can. — *ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ*, and (as a proof) that this is true. See § 33, below. — *ἣν κατανοήτε* (G. 223); but *ὅταν βουλέμεθα* (G. 233). — *εἰ ἐγγίγνωσκε*, if he had this opinion (G. 221), has two apodoses, *ἣν* and *ἐνομιζέτο* *ἂν*. The latter has its main protasis implied in *δικαίως*, if he were justly estimated, to which it conforms (G. 222). See G. 227, 1; and *Moods and Tenses*, § 54, 1 (a).

Page 129.—28. *τοῦ δήμου*, of the democracy. — *τοῖς* . . . *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, on those who were first brought before us (for judgment), follows *ἐπιτιθέσθαι* (G. 187). — *αὐτῷ ἀρέσκει*, by *anacoluthon*, where *τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀρέσκεται* would be expected. — *ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ*, in safety (G. 139, 2).

29. *ὅσῳ* . . . *φανερῷ*, by as much as what is secret is harder to guard against than what is open. — *ἔχθιον* (v. *ἐχθρός*), more hostile. — *οὕτε ἐσπείσατο οὗτ' ἐπίστευσε*, gnomic aorists (G. 205, 2; see N. 1): the subjunctive *λαμβάνοσι* (G. 233) depends on these aorists, as they are *primary* tenses (G. 201, Rem.). — *τοῦ λοιποῦ*, for the future (G. 179, 1).

30. *ἀναμνήσω* (v. *ἀναμνήσκω*) here takes two accusatives (G. 164); this verb may also take the accusative and the genitive (G. 171, 2, N. 3). — *κατὰ τὸν πατέρα*, i. e. as his father had been. — *τοὺς τετρακοσίους*, the oligarchy of the Four Hundred was established in Athens in 411 B. C.; it lasted only four months. See Grote, Chap. LXII. — *ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ*, a party hostile to the oligarchy.

31. *κόθορον*, a high buskin, worn by tragic actors: see the cut in Smith's Dict. of Antiq. s. v. *Cothurnus*. — *ἀποβλέπει*, it is adapted to both feet, as the man who is said to resemble it has an eye to both sides. — *ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν*, the man (who is) fit to live (G. 142, 2). — *οὐ* . . . *ξύνοντας*: *οὐ* belongs to *εἶναι*, and *προάγειν* depends on *δανόν*. — *ὥς ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν*, until they get into fair sailing (G. 239, 2; 233). — *ἀπεδὼν τι ἀντικείμενον*: we should expect the optative, by assimilation to

πλείον (G. 235), and we must translate it like one. See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 34, 1 (b).

32. δήπου, no doubt. — πλείστοις . . . ἀπολωλέναι, you are in part to blame that very many who were on the side of oligarchy have perished at the hands of the people: αἰτίας τινι τινος means the cause of something to some one; and αἰτίος may take the simple infinitive (G. 261, 1) as here, or the infinitive with τοῦ (G. 262, 2).

Page 130. — ἀνελίσθαι (ν. ἀναίρω), to take up or recover. — ναυμαχίᾳ, the sea-fight at Arginusae, B. C. 406, in which the Athenian fleet was victorious, but sailed away leaving, besides the slain, more than a thousand perishing upon the wrecks: the commanders were afterwards brought to trial before the people, and six of them sentenced to death, for this neglect; but the trial was hasty and informal, and their execution was regarded by many as a public crime. — ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, caused their death: Theramenes, who was one of the commanders, joined in the accusation of the others.

33. τοῦ πλεονεκτην, gain; τοῦ καλοῦ, honor. — τοῦτου, gen. after φείσασθαι, ν. φείδομαι (G. 171, 2). — ἡμᾶς ταυτό, the same to us (G. 165).

34. καλλίστη: Critias, who was a very able man, a kinsman of Plato and a friend of Socrates, wrote a treatise on the excellence of the Spartan constitution. — ἀντὶ . . . κείσθαι, instead of yielding to the majority. — τοῖς πραττομένοις, the acts of the government. — ἄν before οἴσθαι belongs to ἐξωθήναι (G. 211). — πολλοὺς . . . ὑμῖν, would make many of those who hold views (γινωσκόντων) hostile to you haughty. — τῶν ἔξω, the political exiles, those who afterwards restored the democracy.

35. ἀποκτείνειν (G. 203). — οὐκ ἤρχον κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, i. e. my charge against them did not begin the controversy. — προσταχθέν, when it was ordered (G. 278, 2). — ἀπολογούμενος, alleging in defence. — οὐδέ, not even. — μὴ ὅτι, not to say, much less. — ἔβρα . . . λίγειν, was acknowledged to have spoken (seemed to speak) reasonably.

Page 131. — προέμενοι, ν. προίημι. — ἀπολίσθαι (G. 265). — ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο, sailed away (G. 279, 4, N.).

36. παρανενομηκέναι, has acted unwisely (i. e. in accusing me); for which some editors suggest the milder παρανεσηκέναι, has erred in judgment. — πένστας, serfs (like the Laconian Helots): the charge of exciting a democratic revolt would be particularly galling to a proud aristocrat like Critias.

37. ὦν, sc. ἐκείνων, depending on μηδέν. — μηδέν . . . γένοιτο, may nothing of the kind be done here. — ὑμᾶς, obj. of παῦσαι, depose you (see § 43, below). — δίκαιον εἶναι explains τάδε, the obj. of ὁμολογᾶ. — εἰ κατανοήσετε, see last note on § 31.

38. μέχρι . . . καταστήναι, until you were established in the magistracy (βουλείαν): μέχρι τοῦ belongs also to ἀποδεχθῆναι and ὑπάγειν; but with ὑπάγειν, μέχρι must be translated while. — Νικηράτου, son of the famous Nicias, who fell in Sicily B. C. 413.

40. ὑπόπτως ἔξοιεν, *would be suspicious* (G. 202, 4). — ἔκαστον, see § 21. — τούτων ἀπολομένων (G. 226, 1) represents the protasis to ἔσονται: in the direct form, ἂν οὗτοι ἀπόλωνται, πολέμοιοι ἔσονται.

Page 132.—41. παρηρῶντο, *took away* (see § 20, above). — ὅπως . . . ἀφελείν, in appos. with τούτου ἕνεκα (G. 215, Rem.). — μηδέν, *in nothing*. — ἔξην γάρ, &c., *for if they had wanted that, they might have left no one* (G. 222, n. 2) *by distressing [the city] with famine a little longer* (ἔτι): πείσαντας agrees with the understood subj. of λιπεῖν (G. 138, n. 8 δ).

42. οὐκ αὖ ἰδόκα μοι, *again, I did not approve*. — τὸ ἀντίπαλον, *the opposition*, of which the head-quarters were with the exiles. — οὕτως, *in this way*, referring to the following protasis. — εἰ . . . προσγενήσονται . . . φανήσονται: μέν and δέ show that εἰ belongs to both verbs. In the direct form the protasis would have the fut. indic. (G. 223, n. 1).

44. ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω and ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν are subj. of γίνεσθαι. — ἂν belongs to βούλεσθαι (G. 211). — οὗτοι, i. e. the Thirty, represented by Critias. — αὐτοῖς, i. e. the exiles. — χαλεπὸν . . . χώρας, *that they think it would be hard to get even a footing anywhere in the country*: ἡγεῖσθαι, like νομίζειν, depends on οἷμαι (αὐτοῖς); and χαλεπὸν ἂν εἶναι (= χαλεπὸν ἂν ᾗν) depends on ἡγεῖσθαι.

45. οἷος, [such a one] *as*, with infin. (G. 261). — ἃ, sc. ἐκεῖνα (G. 160).

Page 133.—τετρακοσίων, see § 30, above. — πάση πολιτείᾳ, *any form of government* (G. 184, 2).

46. ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἄνεσαν, *they (the Spartans) relaxed nothing of their hostility*. — οἱ ἀμφί, &c. the party of the oligarchy (G. 141, n. 3). — ἔρυμα: this was a fort on the mole (χῶμα) which commanded the entrance of the harbor of Piræus, built under pretence of defending the city from a hostile fleet, but really to introduce a Lacedæmonian force to uphold the tyranny of the Four Hundred. — ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι, *make subject to themselves*.

47. ἀποκαλεῖ, *nicknames*. — ὡς παρόμενον, *because (as he says) I try*. — τί ποτε, *what in the world?*

48. οὐ πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν, *not . . . until*. — καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι . . . μετέχοιεν, *until even the slaves, and those who for poverty would sell the state for a drachma, should receive a drachma*, i. e. have a seat in the Senate, the pay of a senator being a drachma (17 cts.) a day. Or the passage may mean simply, until all who would sell the state for a drachma should have an opportunity to do so, i. e. *should have a drachma offered them*. — εἶναι ἂν represents εἶη ἂν, and πρὶν . . . μετέχοιεν stands like a conditional relative sentence (G. 240, 1, third example). — οἱ . . . ἂν ἀποδομένοι (G. 211) is equivalent to ἐκείνοι οἱ . . . ἂν ἀπόδοιντο. — ἐγγεῖσθαι ἂν (= ἐγγίνοιτο ἂν), *could arise or be formed*. — εἰς τὸ . . . τυραννέσθαι, *lit. into the [condition of] being under the tyranny of a few*. — τὸ μέντοι . . . πολιτεῖαν, *but with the help of the powerful, both by horses and by shields, to aid the government* (I say) *by these means*; all this is the subject of εἶναι, if the

text is correct. But διὰ τούτων is thus a mere repetition of what precedes, and the words have probably been corrupted in copying.

49. ἴδν . . . ἀεγχεῖν . . . πρέττων . . . πεποιηκώς, if I am (shall be) convicted of doing . . . or of having done (G. 280): the apodosis δικαιῶς ἂν ἀποθνήσκαν, that I should justly die, has another protasis implied in παθών (= εἰ πάθοιμι); see note on § 27, above. — ἐσχατάτα (double superlative), extremest.

50. δῆλη . . . ἐπιδορυβήσασα, let it be seen that it applauded with favor (G. 280, N. 1).

Page 134. — εἰ ἐπιτρέψα: some MSS. have ἐπιτρέψοι, corresponding to ἐποφείβοιτο (see G. 247, N. 1). — οὐ βιωρὸν, intolerable. — τοὺς . . . ἔχοντας, the young men mentioned in § 23. — φανερώς τῇ βουλῇ (G. 185). — δρυφάκτους, the railing, which separated the Senate from the spectators.

51. προστάτου . . . οὐκ εἴς, that it is the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be (for τοιαύτου οὐκ εἶναι εἴς). — δεῖ δὲ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπη, not to permit: irregular for τὸ . . . μὴ ἐπιτρέπαν. — οἷδε, the young men above mentioned. — τῶν ὄντων, dep. on μηδένα. — κυρίως θανατοῖν, competent to put to death. — ξυνοδοῦν, since it is agreed on (G. 278, 2).

52. Ἑστία: the altar of Hestia (Vesta), the Goddess of the Household, "the senatorial hearth, the altar and sanctuary in the midst of the Senate house." — ἐπὶ Κριτίας, in the power of Critias.

53. ὑμῶν, obj. of θαυμάζω (G. 171, 2). — καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες, and that too, when you know. — οὐδέν (G. 160, 2). — τὸ ὑμῶν ἑκάστου, that of any one of you.

54. τοὺς ἑνδεκα, the Eleven, who had charge of prisons and executions. — ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην, to seize Theramenes. — ἐκείνοι, nom. without verb.

Page 135. — οὐ δεῖ, to the proper place, with ἀπαγαγόντες. — τὰ ἐκ τούτων, what follows from this, i. e. execution.

55. τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, the space in front.

56. δηλοῦντα ὅσα ἔπασχε, proclaiming aloud the treatment he was suffering. — οὐκ . . . οἰμῶξομαι, shall I not suffer? The word, as used by Satyrus, meant that he would suffer for it if he did not keep quiet. — τὸ λατόμενον, i. e. the last few drops of hemlock. — ἀποκορραβίσαντα, jerking out: the κότταβος was a sort of toast, in which the guest flung out a few drops of wine, at the same time calling the name of his beloved; the sound of the wine, as it struck the mark aimed at, was accepted as an omen, or sign of favor. — ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀνδρός, this quality of the man. — τό belongs to ἀπολαύειν, in appos. with ἐκεῖνο.

"The scene just described," says Mr. Grote, "is one of the most striking and tragical in ancient history. The atrocious injustice by which Theramenes perished, as well as the courage and self-possession which he displayed in the moment of danger, and his cheerfulness even in the prison, not inferior to that of Socrates three years afterwards, naturally enlist the warmest sympathies in his favor. But . . . he was a selfish, cunning,

and faithless man ; ready to enter into conspiracies, yet never foreseeing their consequences ; and breaking faith to the ruin of colleagues whom he had first encouraged, when he found them more consistent and thorough-going in crime than himself."

IV. 1. *προῖπον μὴ εἰσεῖναι*, i. e. *excluded or expelled from the city*. — *ἦγον*, *arrested* : it was said that as many as fifteen hundred prisoners suffered death. Among the banished were the most eminent intellectual teachers, native or foreign, Socrates being hardly spared. — *φευγόντων*, genitive absolute. — *ἐνέπλησαν* (v. *ἐμπέλημι*), i. e. *the Thirty caused Megara, &c. to be filled with the fugitives* (*ὑποχωρούντων*).

2. *ὡς σὺν*, *with about*. — *Φυλὴν*, *Phyle*, a frontier fortress among the hills, on the road to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Page 136.—3. *τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῇ ὀσπράῳ*, *during the night* (G. 179, 1) *and on the next day* (G. 189). — *ὑπό*, [taken] *by*.

4. *ληλατήσουεν*, *would forage* (i. e. those in Phyle). — *φυλάς* : the Attic army was mustered according to the ten tribes.

5. *συνελεγμένων* (v. *συλλέγω*), *as there were gathered*, gen. abs. with *περὶ ἑπτακοσίους*.

6. *ἀνίσταντο*, i. e. *the forces of the Thirty*. — *ἔποι*, *to [the post] where* (after *ἀνίσταντο*, which implies motion), i. e. *each to his own work*. — *ἐπλων*, *encampment*. — *ἔστι μὲν οὖς*, *some* (G. 152, N. 2).

Page 137.—8. *ἐν τοῖς ἱππέσιν*, *under guard of the cavalry*. — *πόσοι εἰεν*, i. e. *the people of Eleusis*. — *προσδεήσουιντο* (G. 243), *how much additional garrison they would need* (i. e. in consequence of the seizure of Phyle). — *τὸν δὲ ἐξόντα*, *every one as he went out*. — *ἐναλημμένοι* (v. *συλλαμβάνω*), *seized*. A similar visit and seizure of prisoners was made at Salamis. — *τοῖς ἑνδεκα*, i. e. *for execution*.

9. *ᾠδεῖον* : not the Odeum of Pericles, but the older building near the Ilissus, once used as a theatre. — *τοῖς ἄλλοις*, those not mentioned in § 4 and § 6. — *ταῦτά ἡμῖν*, *the same with us* (G. 159, N. 2 ; 186, N. 2).

10. *δοῖς . . ἔμελεν*, *to such as cared only for gain*. The number thus put to death, says Lysias, was about three hundred. — *ἔβροθον*, *went to their relief* (i. e. that of their party in Piræus). — *ἔπατα*, i. e. *on approaching the Piræus*. — *ἀναφέρουσιν*, *leading up*, i. e. *to the high ground*.

11. *μὴ ἀνέιναι αὐτοῖς*, *not to let them come up*, i. e. *upon any of the high land of the peninsula*. — *κύκλος*, the whole *circuit* of the fortifications which surrounded the Piræus. The name Piræus was given to the whole peninsula with its three harbors ; this included Munychia, which was the high hill on the east side of the peninsula, directly overlooking the smallest of the three harbors, the little bay of Munychia. The town of Piræus occupied part of the larger lower hill south of the great harbor (the harbor called Piræus), and extended across the isthmus along the shore, and over the low land west and northwest of Munychia, to the place at which the two long walls from Athens joined the fortifications of the Piræus. In

this northern part of the town of Piraeus was the market-place named for Hippodamus of Miletus, who was employed by Pericles to lay out the new town of Piraeus. Hippodamus astonished the Athenians by his broad straight streets, crossing each other at right angles. One of these was the street here mentioned, leading from the great square (the ἀγορά) up the hill of Munychia; on which hill stood the temple of Artemis Munychia and that of the Thracian Artemis (Bendis). [On many maps the relative positions of Munychia and Piraeus are reversed, and Phalerum is wrongly made one of the three harbors of the peninsula of Piraeus.]

Page 138.—ἐγένοντο . . . ἀσπίδων, *they formed [a body] not less than fifty shields in depth.* — ἀνω, *upwards, to Munychia.*

12. ἀνταπέλησαν, i. e. Thrasybulus and his men *filled the upper part of the same street to oppose them.* — ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, *behind them.* — αὐτόθεν, *from that quarter.* — ἐν ᾧ, *while.* — θέσθαι, *to rest the shield on the ground.* — στή, *taking his stand (not standing):* see G. 200, N. 5 b.

13. εἰς τῶν προσιόντων, &c., *there are among those who are advancing against us* (G. 169, 1), *first, those on the right, whom, &c.* — ἡμέραν τέμπετην, *four days ago* (G. 161, N.). See Anab. 4, V. 24. — ἀπεσημαίνοντο, *marked for death:* this word usually means to put a seal on property taken for confiscation (see above, II. 21, with note). — οὐ, *where, explained in the next section.*

14. ἔχοντες . . . καθίσταμεν, *we stand in front of them, with arms in our hands.* — ὅτι . . . ξυλλαμβανόμεθα, *because we were seized while dining, &c.* — οἱ δὲ καί, *some of us also.* — οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, *not only when we were guilty of no wrong:* lit. *not to speak of our being guilty of any wrong:* in full οὐ λέγω ὅπως (= ὅς) ἀδικοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα. — χαμένα, &c., see §§ 3 and 6 (above).

Page 139.—15. ἐξέρομεθα, v. ἐκνέομαι: it governs the gen. by G. 171, 1.

16. ᾧτο ἂν τις, *one might suppose* (G. 226, 2). — ἀμαρτήσεται, *will miss:* the object αὐτῶν (antec. of ὧν, § 238) is understood. — δραπέτευσουσιν, *will skulk,* a word used in contempt of fugitive slaves. — ἐναλλομένους, *leaping or rushing upon them,* agrees with ἡμᾶς, the omitted subject of ἀνατρέπειν, instead of agreeing with ἡμῖν understood after ἐξέσται (G. 138, N. 8).

17. ἑκαστός τις . . . ὧν, *each man shall be conscious to himself of being the main cause of victory* (G. 217). — αὕτη, *she, viz. νίκη.* — οἷς εἰσὶ τοῖς ἡμέτεροις, *those who have them* (G. 153, N. 1). — ἡμῶν, gen. part. after οἷς. — ἐπίβουσι (G. 232, 3), v. ἐφοράω. — μνημεῖον . . . τεύξεταί, *for none so rich, who shall win so fair a sepulchre:* the construction is idiomatic; understand οὕτω before καλοῖ. — Ἐνυάλιον, *the God of battles, a name of Ares (or Mars).* — ἀνδ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν, *in requital of the insults we have borne:* the active construction would be, ταῦτα ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζαν (G. 159, N. 4; 153, N. 1).

18. ὁ μάντις : the article is used because the *prophet* or *diviner* had his official place in the host. — ἐπειδὴν . . . δοκεῖ, the words of the diviner.

19. τέθνηται, *lies buried*. — τῶν δέκα, chiefs of the force established by the Thirty. — Χαρμίδης : he was an uncle of Plato, from whom one of Plato's dialogues is named. — πολλοί, *many* [of both parties].

Page 140.—20. ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κήρυξ, *the herald of the* [Eleusinian] *mysteries*, belonging to one of the ancient priestly families. (See *Eumolpidae* in Smith's Dict. of Antiquities). — κατασιωπησάμενος, *having proclaimed silence*. — ξυγχορευταί, *companions in the choral dance*.

21. πρὸς, *in the name of*. — ὀλίγου δέιν, *almost* (G. 268). — ἀπεκτόνασιν, v. ἀποκτείνω. — μηνί, v. μήν. — δέκα ἔτη, the last ten years of the Peloponnesian war, the Decelean war.

22. τῶν ἀποθανόντων, *part. gen. after ἔστιν οὗς*. — ἀλλὰ καὶ . . . καταδακρύσαμεν, *some of them we too greatly lamented*. — οἱ λοιποί, *the survivors of the Thirty*.

23. ξυγκάθητο, v. συγκάθημαι. — διεφέροντο, *disputed, wrangled*. — βιαίωτερον (sc. τοῦ προσήκοντος), *unusually or unduly violent*.

Page 141.—τοῖς τριάκοντα, *dat. after πείθεσθαι*. — τὸ τελευταῖον, *finally* (G. 160, 2). — ἐκείνους καταπαύσαι, *to depose them* (the Thirty).

24. Ἐλευσινίαις (G. 61), see § 8, above. — τῶν ἐν ἄστει, *those in the city* (gen. following ἐπεμύοντο). — ἐφέδρευον, *they patrolled*. — τὸ μὲν ἄφ' ἑσπέρας (G. 161), *after dark*. — τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον, *but towards morning*, an exception to the preceding statement.

25. οἵτινες, [to] *whoever* : understand an antecedent dative after ἔσθαι, depending on πιστὰ δόντες, *giving pledges that all who, &c. should have equal rights*. The direct discourse would be [πάνσιν] οἵτινες ἂν ξυμπολέμησας, καὶ ἂν ξίνοι ᾖσιν, *ισοτέλεια ἔσται*.

Many exiles came to their aid, others sent money or arms, — the orator Lysias sending two hundred shields and two thousand drachmas in money, and hiring, besides, 300 fresh soldiers ; there was one loan of five talents in money (§ 5, 400), afterwards repaid by the people.

26. ἔστιν οὗτε, *at times*. — ληστὰς ἔχαροντο, *roughly handled foragers*. — Αἰξωνίων, *men from Aexone*, a town (or deme) on the coast of Attica. — πολλῶν ἱππέων, i. e. many of the men under Lysimachus.

27. τῶν ἱππέων, *possessive gen. (sc. ὄντα) after Καλλίστρατον*.

Page 142.—εἰ δὲ . . . εἰς εἰπεῖν, *if I may be permitted to speak* : the apodosis (ἐγὼ, *I will speak*) is omitted. — τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ depends on τοῦτο. — κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δυκεῖος δρόμον, *over the race-course leading from the Lyceum*. The Lyceum was a gymnasium just outside of the city walls on the east ; and it was used in the next century by Aristotle as his place of instruction, as the Academy was used by Plato (see note on II. 8, above).

For this reason the word is a familiar one in modern languages, though in a somewhat different meaning. — *δπου βούλοιο* (G. 248). — *τοῦ δρόμου*, partitive gen. after *δπου*. — *πράγματα*, *trouble*.

28. *δοι . . . εἴη*, *that it was possible* (not *would be*): the direct discourse was *οἷον τί ἐστιν . . . ἂν ἀποκλεισθῶσιν* (G. 223). — *αὐτοῖς*, the oligarchy at Athens.

29. *μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*, *were highly elated with hopes of Lysander*. — *προχωροῦντων* (sc. *τῶν πραγμάτων*), *when matters were thus going on*. — *εἰ . . . εὐδοκίμησοι . . . ποιήσοιτο* (G. 248, 2; 226, 4, n. 1) *πάσαις*, *by consent of*. — *φρουράν* (in its Spartan sense), *an armed force*.

Lysander's selfish policy had already disgusted the general feeling of the Greeks; and a party in Sparta, jealous of his authority, were resolved that he should not plant his own creatures a second time as rulers of Athens. On his arrival at Athens, Pausanias was beset with prayers for protection and redress by those who had suffered from the tyranny of the oligarchs, which strongly inclined him to make terms with the patriot party.

30. *δοι ἐγίνωσκον*, *because they were of opinion*: they suspected that Pausanias meant to make Attica a separate province of Sparta (*οἰκέαν καὶ πιστήν*). — *Ἀλιπείῳ*, the low land near Piraeus.

Page 143.—31. *ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερῶν*, *to their homes*. — *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἐνεκεν*, *only for appearance' sake* (lit. *as far as shouting went*, implying *with no real purpose*). One preposition is superfluous, and the simpler *δσον ἀπὸ βοῆς* is found in later Greek. — *δῆλος . . . ὦν* (G. 280, n. 1). — *κοφὸν λιμένας*, *the still harbor*, probably the small cove west of the principal harbor of Piraeus. — *πῇ εὐαποτείχιστος*, i. e. where was the best line for blockading the Piraeus (i. e. on the side towards Athens).

32. *ἐνέντας* (v. *ἐνέημι*), *at full speed*, used intransitively. — *τοὺς . . . ἡβητας*, i. e. those who had been ten years of the military age; referring to the civic *ἐφηβία*, which began in the eighteenth year.

33. *ἐπὶ πόδα*, *backward* (without turning). — *οἱ τεθαμμένοι* (v. *θάπτω*) *ἐν Κεραμεικῷ*, i. e. *whose graves are in the Ceramicus*. The outer Ceramicus is described by Thucydides as "the most beautiful suburb" of Athens. It was northwest of the city, and the road to the Academy (see note on II. § 8, above) passed through it. On this road (as on the Roman Via Appia) were many monuments of illustrious men, especially of such as had fallen in battle.

34. *ἐπὶ ὀκτώ*, *eight deep*. — *ἐξέσθησαν*, v. *ἐξώθια*. — *ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς*: this must refer to the marshy district at the junction of Piraeus with the mainland, not to either of the Attic demes called *Ἀλαί*.

Page 144.—35. *οὐδ' ὧς*, *not even under these circumstances*: *ὧς* for *οὕτως* is rare in Attic prose (G. 29, n.). — *οἷα* is object of *λέγωντας*, which belongs to *πρέσβεις*. — *διόσση*, *divided* (by making discord). "It seems plain that this is not a correct account. Pausanias did not create this dis-



cord, but found it already existing, and had to choose which of the parties he would adopt. The peace-party was already uppermost in Athens, and it was both easiest, and most for the Lacedaemonian interest, to follow the course he did." Grote.

36. νομίζεται, *it is according to* [Spartan] *custom*. — τῆς γνώμης ὄντες, *being of the opinion*.

37. ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, *i. e. those representing the government*, the Ten (§§ 23, 24), the first embassy being sent by Pausanias. — χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται, *to deal with as they pleased* (G. 248). — ἀξιούν, *thought fit*.

38. ἔχεν (G. 267). — ἀπιέναι, &c., *i. e. no man should be molested for past acts, except the Thirty, &c.*

39. διήκει (v. δίκημι), *disbanded*.

Page 145.—40. ἐκ τοῦ ἁπλοῦς ἄνδρες, *i. e. those who had fought against Thrasybulus*. — γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, *to come to know yourselves*. — ἐπὶ τίνι . . . φρονητήριον . . . ὥστε, *on what ground you have a right to be (so) presuming, as, &c.* — δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, *i. e. you have no claim on the score of justice*.

41. ἥ ὥς, *than the manner in which*. — οὐ γὰρ would naturally be the subject of οἰχόνται, but it is disregarded after the clause ὥσπερ . . . παραδιδόασιν, and ἀκαίνοι is introduced (by *anacoluthon*) after οὐτω. The subject of παραδιδόασιν is τινὲς understood. — ἀπίνοντες (G. 279, 4, N.).

42. ὁ ἄνδρες: here he addresses his own followers, who had just taken the oath in the Acropolis. — οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ . . . παραβῆναι οὐδέν, *I adjure you not to violate any part of the oath which you have taken* (ὡν οὐδέν = οὐδὲν ἐκείνων δ.). Οὐκ ἀξιῶ sometimes means *I ask some one not to do something* (like οὐ φημι, *I deny*): here οὐδέν (not μηδέν) merely repeats the negative idea expressed in οὐ . . . ἀξιῶ. — ἐπιδείξαι depends on ἀξιῶ (without οὐ).

43. ἀρχάς, *magistrates (authorities)*: the chief Archon then chosen, the *Eponymus* of the year 403–402, was Euclides, whose year is a famous era in Athenian history. — τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσίνι: see § 24, above. — ἡ μὴν, a formula often prefixed to an oath. — μὴ μνησικακήσαν, *not to remember evil*, *i. e. they declared an amnesty* (α- and μνήστis). A part of the oath was as follows: καὶ οὐ μνησικακήσω τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενί, πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκά. — ὁμοῦ πολιτεύονται, *they conduct the government in harmony*, *i. e. the oligarchical party and the democracy*.

After these events, Athens was still left comparatively weak, disabled by the loss of her fortifications and of the long walls connecting the city with the port, until the great naval victory of Conon at Cnidus (B. C. 394) enabled him to rebuild the walls, and restore to the city something of its ancient glory and strength.

## HERODOTUS.

THE subject of the historical work of Herodotus, as he himself announces it, is the famous invasion of Greece by Xerxes. The greater part of his history, however, is taken up with an introduction to this subject, in which he gives an account of almost every nation in the world with which the Greeks had come in contact, and preserves many valuable fragments of the early history of both Athens and Sparta as well as other Greek states.

The Persian Wars (490–479 B. C.) mark one of the most important eras in the political history of Athens. It was a period of anxious excitement and finally of terrible hardship, a fierce struggle for existence, from which the Athenian democracy emerged in full maturity. Before the restoration of Athens after the battle of Plataea, the constitution was far from being purely democratic. The constitution of Solon (594 B. C.) had given the great body of the people very limited political and judicial functions, excluding all except the wealthiest class from the chief magistracy, the archonship, and the fourth or lowest class from all civic offices. Even the constitution of Clisthenes, which followed the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus (510 B. C.), did not venture to remove these barriers which guarded the offices of state, although it did allow the lot to decide in most cases between candidates who had the legal qualifications. But after the battle of Plataea, even the conservative Aristides felt that the time was come when the right of the whole people to govern the state which they had saved from destruction must be recognized. He then proposed the decisive law which abolished all political distinctions between the citizens, and opened all the offices of state to all Athenians. Thus completely had the common sufferings united all parties and silenced all doubts.

The chief events of this memorable period are the battle of Marathon in 490 B. C.; the defence of Thermopylae by the Spartan king Leonidas, and the two sea-fights at Artemisium and Salamis, in 480 B. C.; and the battles of Plataea and Mycale (on the same day) in 479 B. C.

Herodotus was born at Halicarnassus, one of the Doric cities on the western coast of Asia Minor, about the year 484 B. C. In his manhood he travelled extensively in Asia, Egypt, and Greece, — a keen, intelligent, and accurate observer. His history is one of the earliest, and is much the most curious and interesting, of our sources of knowl-

edge as to the countries, people, customs, history, local politics, and family traditions of the century before his own day. It is in nine Books, named for the nine Muses. It is full of illustrations of the religious beliefs, omens, oracles, customs, and feelings of the time. The conflict between Asia and Europe appears in Herodotus as part of a great drama, in which the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war had been successive acts, which was watched at every point and guided by the manifest direction of the Gods; while in the earlier parts of his History he is constantly tracing proofs of that divine judgment, which humbles the pride and punishes the crimes of men.

Asia Minor, with the Greek colonies on its western coast, had been added to the Persian dominions by Cyrus the Great, who conquered Croesus, king of Lydia, B. C. 546. About the year B. C. 500, the Ionic cities, with Miletus at their head, revolted against the Persian rule; and, with the help of allies from Greece, especially the Athenians, captured and burned the Lydian capital, Sardis. The war continued about six years, and ended in a complete Persian victory. The Ionic city of Miletus was captured and reduced to slavery, to the passionate grief of its generous allies in Athens. But the attention of the Persians had been drawn to the free states and islands towards the west, and these hostilities led the way to their two formidable invasions. Meanwhile the tyrant Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had been driven from Athens (B. C. 510), and had taken refuge at the Persian court. He was now a feeble old man; but his hate of the Athenians and desire of revenge made him eager to serve the invader, whom he accompanied himself to the plain of Marathon.

Although Herodotus was a Dorian by birth, he wrote his History in Ionic Greek. His intercourse with the Ionic cities in his immediate neighborhood must have made him familiar with their speech, even if we reject the account given by Suidas of his long residence as an exile in the Ionic island of Samos. But he probably chose the Ionic dialect chiefly because it had been used by the historians or annalists who preceded him. The dialect of Herodotus is known as the *New Ionic*, which, where it differs from the Attic, is very similar to the Old Ionic of Homer. Its general peculiarities should be learnt by the beginner from the grammar.\* Others will be seen in the Lexicon; as the use of  $\kappa$  for  $\pi$  in  $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., for  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ , &c., and the interchange of aspirates in  $\epsilon\nu\theta\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ,  $\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$ , for  $\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\iota\theta\alpha$ ,  $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\nu$ ,  $\chi\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ . The chief peculiarity in syntax is the use of

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\* See G. Introduction, pp. 1 and 2; §§ 30; 39; 44; 59; 67, Note 1; 70; Notes to 76-86; §§ 119; 120; 126; Notes to 127; see also §§ 140, Note 4; 144, 2 (b); 148, Note 4. Much of the detail in the notes can be learnt by practice reading.



have divided and weakened Greece: it was composed in season, and the men of Aegina fought bravely against the Persians at Salamis and Plataea. — τὰ πεποιήκοιεν, *what* [as the Athenians said] *they had done* (G. 248, 4, last ex.). — συνήπτο: the active form συνάπτειν πόλεμον (cf. συνάπτειν μάχην in § 12, *to join battle*), means, *to engage in war*. The hostility between Aegina and Athens is traced by Herodotus to the following circumstance: In time of famine, the Epidaurians had brought two statues of sacred olive-wood from Athens, paying therefor a yearly service at the shrine of Erechtheus. After these had for many years been effectual to avert the barrenness of the land, they were stolen by Aeginetans, colonists of Epidaurus, and the tribute ceased. The Athenians then sent to demand it at Aegina; but, while they were attempting to drag away the sacred statues, a violent storm burst forth, with an earthquake, so that their whole expedition, struck with frenzy, fell upon one another and perished, except one man who fled to tell the tale.

4. ὥστε is used with the participle by Hdt. in the same sense as ὅτε in Attic (G. 277, N. 2b); *not* in the sense of ὅς. — Παισιωτρατῖδων, i. e. Hippias and his household. Pisistratus, the father of Hippias, became tyrant at Athens B. C. 560. Hippias was expelled and the democracy restored B. C. 510, twenty years before the battle of Marathon. — προσκατημένον = προσκατημένων. — ταύτης . . . προφάσις, *adhering to this purpose*. — Ἑλλάδος, partitive genitive with τοῖς μὴ δόντας. — φλαύρος πρήξαντα, cf. καὶ πρᾶττειν (G. 165, N. 2). — παραλῖα, “*relieves*.” — ἀποδείξας = ἀποδείξας, *having appointed*. — Δαῖτιν, Ἀρταφέρνηα, in apposition with στρατηγοῖς.

Here follows the expedition of the fleet against the Grecian islands, and the capture of Eretria, in Euboea, the inhabitants of which were colonized by Darius eastward of the Persian Gulf.

5. ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ: Eretria was opposite the northern point of Attica, across the strait, which is here about five miles wide. — κατέρχοντες = καθιέρχοντες, *hemming* in the Athenians *greatly*: the word is doubtful. — δοκίοντες . . . τὰ, *expecting to do the same by the Athenians, as, &c.* (G. 165). — καὶ . . . γάρ: here the separate force of these particles can be seen, *and . . . for*. Generally, however, καὶ γάρ means simply *for surely* (more emphatic than γάρ alone), the original ellipsis of a clause with καὶ being forgotten. — ὁ Μαραθὼν: “the plain of Marathon is about six miles from north to south, and of varying width, having the eastern declivities of Pentelicus on the west, and the sea on the east.” Felton. It is about twenty miles northeast from Athens, and fifteen southeast from Eretria. — ἐπιπνέσαι, i. e. *for cavalry movements*. — κατηγέρο = καθηγέρο. — σφί (G. 171, 3, N.). — δέκα, i. e. one from each Attic tribe. — δέκατος, *one of ten* (not *tenth*). — τοῦ, *whose*. — κατέλαβε, *it befell*: its subject is φύγειν, which means properly *to get banished* (aorist), while φεύγειν is *to be in exile*: φύγειν is of course transitive, lit. *to flee from*, hence Παισιωτρατον.

6. *ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου*: this refers to the Thracian Chersonesus (on the west side of the Hellespont), where Miltiades had been several years governor or "despot." Hence Byron's familiar lines,

"The tyrant of the Chersonese," &c.

His uncle, Miltiades, the so-called *οἰκιστής* (or *founder* of the Chersonese), had led the first Athenian colony to this region during the reign of Pisis-tratus. Miltiades the younger, according to Herodotus, had advised breaking down the bridge on the Danube, and leaving Darius to perish in his campaign against the Scythians (about 516 B. C.): hence the king's enmity against him, and attempt to seize him, described below.

Page 148. — *πρὸ πολλοῦ ποιούντο*, made great efforts. — *τὸ ἐνθευεν, θησευρον*. — *ἐποδεξάμενοι*, watching for his return: the simple *ἰδεάμεν* in Ionic Greek, as in Attic, belongs to *δέχομαι*: but in compounds care must be taken to avoid confusion with this and similar Ionic forms (as *ἰδέσθην*) belonging to *δεῖκνυμι*. — *ἀπεδέχθη*, was appointed.

7. *τοῦτο μελεῶντα*, i. e. this was his profession. — *τῷ = φῷ*, dative after *περίπιπτε*, falls in with (G. 187). — *βόσσαντα* (v. *βοῶω*), calling. — *Πάνα*, subject of *κελεύσαι*, which depends on *ἄλγε* understood: Pan was the Pelasgic (i. e. aboriginal) deity, whose chief seat of worship was the Pelasgic district of Arcadia. — *ἀπαγγεῖλαι*, to carry this message (implying to ask). — *διδότι* (= *διδάτι*) . . . *ποιεῖνται*, why they paid no reverence to him. — *τὰ δέ* is used before *ἔτι* as if *τὰ μὲν* stood before *πολλαχῇ*. — *καταστάτων . . . πρηγμάτων*, when their affairs were now restored to good condition. — *εἶναι*: the subject is *ταῦτα* after *πιστεύσαντες*. — *ἱρόν*, shrine: this was a grotto below the Acropolis, with a descent of 47 steps. — *ἀπό*, in consequence of. — *λαμπάδι*, a torch-race.

8. *δευτεραίος*, within two days: the distance is about 140 miles. — *περιπεσοῦσαν* (like *περιπεσείν*), aorist participle without time (G. 279, 3). — *πρός*, at the hands of. — *πόλι*, dative of difference (G. 188, 2): Greece is become poorer by one notable city. — *ἔαδε* v. *ἀνδάνω*. — *ἀδύνατα ἦν*, it was impossible, a common expression for *ἀδύνατον ἦν* (G. 135, 2).

Page 149. — *ἰσταμένου τοῦ μηνός*: the lunar month was divided into three parts, called *ἰστάμενος*, *μεσών*, *φθίνων*. — *εἰνάτη* = *ἐνάτη*, ninth. It is supposed that in this particular month occurred the Carneia, the great Dorian festival in honor of Apollo, lasting from the seventh to the fifteenth (i. e. till the full moon), during which no Dorian might bear arms. It occurred generally in August, but this year early in September. — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7, Rem.) . . . *τοῦ κύκλου*, while the moon's disk was not yet full.

9. *συνεννηθῆναι τῇ μητρὶ*: this he understood to mean, that he should sleep in the grave in his native land. — *γηραιός*, in his old age. — *κατὰ-δὲ* (G. 138, N. 8).

10. *τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ* (G. 148, N. 4). — *ἀπέβησε*, put ashore. — *καταγομένας*, brought to land: the corresponding *ἀνάγεσθαι* is to put to sea. — *οἱ*, to him, dative following *ἐπῆλθε*. — *εἴδοε* for *εἶδθε*, v. *ἔδω*. — *οἱ*

(G. 277, N. 2 b) with *έόντι*, since he *was*. — *πρεσβύτερον*, rather old. — *ἐξελθούσθαι*, had come to pass (lit. had come out).

11. *ἐν τεμένει Ἑρακλῆος*, i. e. in Marathon. — *Πλαταιαίς*, the city of Plataea was about twenty-five miles northwest from Athens, in the territory of Boeotia. — *ἀναραιφάτο*, for *ἀνήρηντο*, v. *ἀναιρέω*, had undertaken (G. 119, 3). — *έκαστέρω*, too far off (to be of any use to you).

Page 150. — *τούτῃδε . . . ψυχρή*, such a service would prove to be cold, i. e. too weak to be of use. — *φθαίητε . . . ήμέων*, for you might be enslaved many times before any of us would hear (G. 279, 2) : *πυθίσθαι* here follows *φθαίητε* ή from the force of *πρίν* implied in the verb (G. 274, N.); a rare construction. — *τιμωρεῖν οὐ κακοῖσι*, no cowards to help. — *συνεσσιώτας*, v. *συνίστημι*, coming in collision. — *Βοιωτοῖσι* : especially Thebans, who would object to the proposed union of Plataea and Athens.

12. *οὐκ ήπιστήσαν*, i. e. they followed their advice. — *ποιούντων* is temporal. — *ἐπιτρεφάντων ἀμφοτέρων*, both sides choosing them unpires. — *οὐρίσαν* for *ήρισαν*, v. *ήρίζω*. — *έάν . . . τελείω*, that the Thebans should leave at liberty (*έάν*) those of the Boeotians who were unwilling to belong to the Boeotian league, which was under the exclusive control of Thebes.

13. *ήτθήκαντο* (G. 110, III 1, N. 1). — *έσώθησαν* (for *ήσσω*, v. *ήσσομαι*), were defeated. — *τούς . . . οὄρους*, the boundaries which, &c. : *τούς* is relative.

14. *έγίνοντο δίχα*, were divided. — *τῶν μὲν*, &c., one part voting not to engage. — *όλίγους*, too few. — *τῶν δέ*, &c., the other, including Miltiades, urging it. — *ένίκα ή χέρων*, the more timid was likely to prevail (imperfect). — *κνώμφ λαχόν*, elected by lot (lit. by the bean). The polemarch was the third in rank of the nine archons, and he was originally (as his name denotes) a military commander. Soon after the Persian Wars, however, his duties were confined to the management of the affairs of foreigners resident at Athens, and military matters were left to the board of ten generals (*στρατηγοί*).

Page 151. — 15. *οὐδέ*, &c., not even Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens by slaying Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus and brother of Hippias, who was then tyrant : they were from the same deme with Callimachus (Aphidnae). — *δίδοκται τὰ πείσονται*, it is already determined what they shall suffer : i. e. the tyranny of the Pisistratidae will be restored and the democracy abolished. — *περιγένηται*, shall get the victory. — *οἷτι τέ έστι* (G. 151, N. 4). — *άνήκα ές σέ*, has come up to you [for decision]. — *έλπομαι*, I anticipate. — *στάσις*, commotion or civil conflict. — *έστε μηδισαι*, so that they will favor the Persians, i. e. prove traitors to the national cause : in this verb *μηδίζω*, and often elsewhere, the Persians are incorrectly called *Medes* by the Greek writers. — *πρίν τι . . . έγγενέσθαι*, before there come anything rotten (cowardly or corrupt) into one and another of the Athenians. — *θεῶν . . . νεμόντων*, if the Gods judge justly. — *ήν εἴη*, if you prefer (v. *αἰρέω*). — *τῶν . . . αγαθῶν* (for *έν . . . αγαθῶν*), by attraction and assimilation (G. 154, N.) for *τῶν αγαθῶν* (G. 181, N.) & *κατάφερα*.

16. μετὰ δέ (G. 191, n. 2). — *πρυτανίῃ τῆς ἡμέρας*, *command for the day*, which passed in rotation through the whole board of ten generals: as one general belonged to each tribe, it is likely that the same order was followed here as in the ordinary succession of the tribes in the *πρυτανεία*, which was determined annually by lot (see note on § 17, below, and on Xen. Mem. § 18). — *δεκόμενος* = *δεχόμενος*. — οὐ . . . κω = οὐ . . . πα, *not yet*. — *πρὶν*, *until* (G. 240, 1).

Page 152. — 17. τότε, &c.: the right wing was the post of honor, as being most perilous, that side being unprotected by the shield; it was anciently assigned to the king. — *ὡς ἡριθμούντο*, *in order, as they were numbered*; see note on § 16, above. — *ἀπὸ ταύτης . . . σφί μάχης*, *from their fighting in this battle*: for σφί (the Plataeans) see G. 184, 3, n. 4. — *θυσίας . . . γινομένας*, *when the Athenians celebrate the sacrifices and festivals which take place every four years*: this refers especially to the greater Panathenaic festival. — *λέγων* is parenthetical, and *γίνεσθαι* depends on *κατεύχεται* (G. 203, n. 2). — *ἐξισούμενον*, *extended to equal length*. — *ἐπὶ τάξις ὀλίγας*, *but a few ranks deep*.

18. ὡς δέ σφί διετέτακτο, impersonal (see G. 188, 3, second ex.). — *ἀπέθσαν* (v. ἀφίημι), *were allowed to advance* (lit. *let go or sent forth*) "like racers in the course" (Stein). — *μανίην . . . ἐπέφερον*, *they imputed madness*: in fact, only the admirable training of the Athenians saved them from being thrown into disorder, by which they must have perished. — *ἵππου* (fem.), *cavalry*. — *ἀνέσχοντο ὀρόντες*, *endured to behold*. — *ταύτην ἐσθμημένους*, *wearing it* (a peculiar word: G. 164; 197, 1, n. 2). — *τόως*, *till then*. — *φόβος ἀκούσαι* (G. 261, 2, n.).

19. *μαχομένων*, genitive absolute denoting time, *while they fought*. — *τὸ μέσον* (G. 160, 1), *at the centre*, like *κατὰ τοῦτο ἐνίκων* just below. — *τῇ*, *where*. — *Σάκαι*: these were Scythian bowmen, serving probably as mariners in the fleet, and efficient in land service. — *ἐτεράχато* = *τεταγμένοι ἦσαν*. — *ρήξαντες*, *breaking through*.

Page 153. — *ἔων*, *they suffered*, for *έων*. — *τοῖς . . . ῥήξαι*, dative after *ἐμάχοντο*. — *φεύγουσι*, *in their flight*. — *Πέρσῃσι* (G. 186, n. 1).

20. ἀπὸ δ' ἔθανε, the verb is ἀπέθανε, the prepositions being separated by tmesis (G. 191, n. 3). — *γενόμενος*, *having proved himself*. — *Κυνέγερος*, a brother of the poet Aeschylus: he was attempting to climb into the ship by the stern-works (*ἀφλάστων*). — *τὴν χεῖρα* (G. 197, 1, n. 2).

21. *ἐξανακρουσάμενοι*, *backing water*. — *ἀπικόμενοι* (G. 279, 4). — *αἰτίη*, &c., *an accusation became current* (*ἔσχε*) *that they planned this by contrivance of the Alcmaeonidae*: this was a powerful family in Athens, at feud with Miltiades, — the same to which, in the next generation, Pericles belonged. — *ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα*, *displayed a shield* (G. 203): this depends on the idea of saying in *αἰτίη*. This shield, "discernible from its polished surface afar off, was seen held aloft upon some high point of Attica, — perhaps on the summit of Mount Pentelicus. . . . A little less quickness on



the part of Miltiades in deciphering the treasonable signal and giving the instant order of march, — a little less energy on the part of the Athenian citizens in superadding a fatiguing march to a no less fatiguing combat, — and the Persians, with the partisans of Hippias, might have been found in possession of Athens. . . . Nothing could have rescued her, except that decisive and instantaneous attack which Miltiades so emphatically urged." Grote.

22. ποδῶν (G. 168, N. 3), genitive following τάχιστα, i. e. *at the top of their speed*. — ἔφθησαν ἀπικόμενοι (G. 279, 4). — πρὶν ἢ ἦκαν (G. 274, N.). — Κνωσάργει, a grove and gymnasium, eastward of the city, like the Academy (see note on Xen. Hellen. ii. 2. 8). — ὑπεραιωρηθέντες, *lying off* (lit. *above*): in the same way the Greeks spoke of a vessel leaving the shore by ἀνάγειν, and of one approaching the shore by κατέγειν. Compare the active expression νῆας ἀνακαχέσαντες, *keeping the ships at anchor*, just below. — Φαλήρου, the old port of Athens (see map, and note on Xen. Hell. p. 42): at this time the Piræus had not been fortified.

23. συνήκακε, v. συμφορά, *it befell*.

Page 154. — πληγέντα, *struck* with sword or pike; βληθέντα, *hit* with arrow or javelin. — σκιάζαν (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

24. ἔχοντες . . . οὕτω, *making such haste to reach Athens in time for the battle*. — τριηταῖοι, *on the third day from Sparta* (i. e. two days after leaving Sparta). Plato says that they arrived the day after the battle. — θηήσασθαι (v. θεάομαι).

After the victory at Marathon, Miltiades procured an armament of seventy ships under his own command, for secret service, — which proved to be an attack on Paros, to revenge, says Herodotus, a private quarrel. He returned unsuccessful, and was impeached of treason by Xanthippus, father of Pericles. The penalty of death was commuted for a fine of fifty talents; and before this was paid, he died of a wound or bruise received in his escape from Paros. Meanwhile, the Greeks were left in security and peace, and the next invasion, under Xerxes, was delayed for a period of ten years.

The date of the battle of Marathon, according to the most satisfactory calculations, is September 12, B. C. 490. The account of the battle in Herodotus, although it is the best that we have, is very far from satisfactory. We have no detailed description of the movements, no account of the feeling in Athens either before or after the victory, no statement (even on conjecture) of the numbers engaged on either side. This silence on some points probably arose from the fact that the invasion of Xerxes was the chief object of interest in his history, and the invasion of Darius was looked upon chiefly as introductory to this. But on other points, especially as to the numbers, we may safely presume that he is silent simply because he had no authentic

information. He is very minute in giving the numbers of the slain, one of which at least (that of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians) he could have known from inscriptions. As to the numbers of the Persians, hardly a guess can be made: they are variously stated by later historians from 600,000 to 110,000, which last is the estimate of Cornelius Nepos. The same historian gives the number of Greeks as 10,000, including 9,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. Others give 10,000 Athenians and 1,000 Plataeans. If this estimate included only the heavy armed, and the usual addition is made for light armed, we shall make the whole Greek force consist of 20,000 or 22,000 men. (See Rawlinson, Appendix to Book VI.)

Herodotus does not mention cavalry in the battle, although he states that the field of Marathon was selected by the Persians because it was excellent for cavalry movements (*ἐνιπνεύσας*). We may suppose the cavalry to have been absent foraging on the day of the battle, which the Persians were not expecting (as Rawlinson suggests); or it may not yet have been landed, for some reason not given. At all events, no account is given of its re-embarkation, which would have been difficult after the defeat.

By the view given in Blakesley's "Excursus," the landing at Marathon was meant only for a lodgement. The region near held many partisans of Hippias, who were also formidable in the city; and if their expected movement had taken place, the Persians might have landed their cavalry, destroyed the little army of the Greeks, and occupied the country at their leisure. This plan was foiled by the generalship of Miltiades, who, after the two armies had held each other several days in check, *suddenly* extended his wings, and struck his blow so promptly that the Persians were beaten by sheer surprise. They even drove the Athenian centre in rout, as Herodotus says, into the interior (*μεσθγαιαν*); the wings, alone, had fled in "panic" flight, and perished in the marshes on the flanks,—the service rendered, at this crisis, by the god Pan. On the whole, the main force must have come off with small loss and in good order, the greatness of the victory being exaggerated by the patriotic pride of the Greeks. Their ships lay moored, stern to the shore, and were easily got off, only seven of the whole fleet being taken or sunk. The battle was won, not by the mere superior valor of the Greeks, but by the skill and energy of their commander, who for many days kept his little army safe from attack, in a well-chosen position, and fought when a longer delay might have been fatal; for the Persians were expecting a demonstration from the disloyal faction in Athens, which was prevented only by the promptness and completeness of his victory.

## II.

Page 154. — 1. **καχαραγμένον**, *exasperated*, lit. *sharply cut*: the same verb (**χαράσσω**) from which our own word *character* is derived. — **δεινότερα ἐποίησεν**, comparative of **δενά ποιείν**, *to take (a thing) ill*, *aegre ferre*.

Page 155. — **ἰδονέτο**, *was kept in commotion* ("din"). — **ὥς . . . στρατευομένων**, *since they were to attack Greece*: this phrase gives the reason of **ἀρίστων**.

2. **τετάρτῃ ἔτει**, i. e. probably in the summer of B. C. 487. — **Καμβύσιον**: Cambyses, son and successor of Cyrus the Great, had made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B. C. — **μᾶλλον ὤρμητο**, *was the more eager* (lit. *had been the more impelled*). — **στελλομένου**, *about proceeding*, i. e. getting ready his **στόλος**. — **παίδων**: the dispute was between Xerxes and Artabazanes. Xerxes, though the younger, was son of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, the queen of Darius. Through her he inherited his own claim of sovereignty, and she was now all-powerful at the Persian court. He had, besides, the claim of having been "born in the purple," after Darius came to the throne, — Artabazanes being son of a former wife. — **ἡγεμονίης**, *precedence* as to the succession. — **ὥς δέα** depends on the idea of *demanding* vaguely implied in **στάσις ἐγένετο**. — **οὕτω** refers back to **ἀποδέξαντα**: the meaning is, that after nominating a successor he should *so* set forth, i. e. he should *not* set forth *until* he had done this. — **παρασκευαζόμενον** agrees with **Δαρείον**, which is subject of **ἀποθανεῖν**. — **συνήνκει**, *it happened*.

3. **καὶ Ξέρξης**: Herodotus represents that Xerxes was at first indifferent to the expedition against Greece, but was urged to it by Mardonius (afterwards slain at Plataea), who hoped to become satrap of Greece. In a royal council held after Egypt was subdued, Xerxes declared his intention to make the invasion by way of the Hellespont, and was supported by Mardonius, but dissuaded by his uncle Artabanus, his wisest counsellor, — who, however, yielded to the terror of a vision, which "threatened to burn out his eyes with hot irons" for his opposition to the will of destiny. He now "openly favored the expedition; and so Xerxes gathered together his host, ransacking every corner of the continent." — **ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη**, *four full years*, counting from the reduction of Egypt in B. C. 485. — **ἀνομένῃ** (v. **ἄνω**), *advancing*, i. e. *in the course of the year*. — **χειρὶ μεγάλῃ πλήθεος**, *with a mighty (hand of) force*: with this use of **χείρ** cf. Latin *manus*. — **στόλων**: this refers to the expedition of Darius against the Scythians, the great Scythian invasion of Media, the war of Troy, and the conquest of Thrace and Northern Greece, still earlier, by the Mysians and Teucrians; "yet not all these," says Herodotus, "nor all others which have ever been, were worthy to be compared with this single one." — **οἱ μὲν**, &c., i. e. the several nations and districts subject to Xerxes. — **ἐς πᾶσιν ἑταράχατο**, *had orders for foot soldiers*: **τὸ πᾶσιν** means foot soldiers when opposed to

cavalry, but *land force* (in general) when opposed to a naval armament. — *ἵππος* (fem.), *cavalry*, “horse.” — *ἄμα* (G. 277, N. 1). — *γεφύρας*, see below, § 10.

4. *τοῦτο μὲν* (G. 148, N. 4), here with no correlative *τοῦτο δέ*. — *ὥς* implies that *προσπαισάντων* gives the reason of Xerxes for digging the canal through Athos (G. 277, N. 2): for *προσπαισάντων*, see note on I. § 2. — *προετοιμάζετο* (impersonal), *preparations were made in advance*. — *ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων*, *from a time three years back*. — *Ἐλαιούνη*, *Elaeus*, at the extreme southwest point of the Chersonesus, was the base of the naval operations at Athos; the military head-quarters were at Sestos, about eighteen miles above. — *ἄρμεσιν* is from *ὀρμέω*, while *ὀρμέμενοι* is an Ionic form (= *ὀρμώμενοι*) from *ὀρμάω*. — *ἐπὶ μαστίγων*, i. e. driven to their work by scourges. See below, § 21; and III. § 44, where Hdt. describes the Persians at Thermopylae as driven into the battle by scourges. — *παντοδαποῖ*, *various detachments*. — *διάδοχοι*, *in relays*.

Page 156. — 5. *σχοινοτενίς*, *a straight line* (as if by a stretched cord). — *βάθια* (for *βαθεία*): at the greatest depth, the canal would be about sixty feet below the surface. — *βάθρων*, *stagings*: the Phoenicians, according to Herodotus, were the only ones skilful enough in engineering to avoid the caving in of the banks by beginning the excavation with double the width required at the bottom. — *πρητήριον*, Ion. for *πράττήριον*, *a market, a place for selling*, from *πρα-* (stem of *πυπράσκω*). — *ἀηλεσμένος* (v. *ἄλεω*), *ready ground*.

6. *ὥς . . . ἐρίσκειν*, *so far as I can find out* (G. 268): in fact, it was not a very difficult work, and was highly politic, especially in case Greece should be subjugated. The canal, which has been traced, “is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across; it has been much filled up with mud and rushes.” — *παρέον* (G. 278, 2), *when it was in his power*. — *διαιρύσαι*, *to haul across*, an operation easily performed with the light vessels of the ancients. — *εὖρος ὥς . . . πλώειν*, *of [such] width that two triremes could pass through* (G. 266, N. 1). — *ἐλαστρονέμας* (for *ἐλαυνομένας*), *driven by oars*. — *ἰεῖξαντας γεφυρώσαι*, *simply to bridge the river*: the Greeks said *ποταμὸν ἰεῖξαι* (§ 8) and *ποταμὸν γεφυρώσαι*, and Hdt. has even *γεφύρας ἰευνών*.

7. *Κριτάλλων*, the frontier town of Cappadocia. — *γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ*, see below, § 28. — *δείπνα*, see below, § 25.

Page 157. — 8. *οἱ δέ*: those who had charge of the work (see *τοῖσι προσέκτετο* below). — *ἔξυγνυσαν*, *were* (in the mean time) *building*. — *τὴν μὲν . . . τὴν δέ*: understand *γέφυραν* from *ἐγεφύρου* above. — *βυβλίνην*, *of papyrus*: this plant was used by the Egyptians for ropes as well as for paper. — *ἔστι . . . στάδιοι* (G. 135, N. 5).

9. *ἐπικέσθαι μαστίγι* (= *μαστιγιώσαι*), *to scourge*, here takes *πληγὰς* as a cognate accusative (G. 159), *to strike the stream three hundred blows with a lash*. Understand *τινάς* as subject of both *ἐπικέσθαι* (v. *ἐπικνέομαι*) and *κατεῖναι* (v. *καθίημι*). — *ποταμῷ*: the current, about three miles an hour, gives the Hellespont the aspect of a river.

10. τὰς δὲ, *the bridges*. — ὑπὸ, *under*, as a support. — ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριακοσίας : the upper bridge may have been made stronger (of three hundred and sixty vessels) to resist the greater force of the stream ; or it may have been at a broader part of the channel, which is here about a mile wide. (See Grote's note.) — τοῦ μὲν . . . κατὰ ῥέον, *at right angles with the Pontus, and in the line of the current of the Hellespont* (to diminish the resistance). — ἵνα ἀναχωρή, *that it* [this arrangement of vessels] *might ease* (i. e. by lifting) *the strain on the tackle* : ἀναχωρέω (kindred to ἀνέχω) means *to hold up*, with the idea of *relieving or keeping quiet* (see ἀναχωεύσαντες τὰς νέας, *keeping the ships off the coast*, in I. § 22) : so ἀναχωρή means *a truce*. It is hard to see why (according to the common interpretation, *that the force of the stream might keep up the tension of the cables*, i. e. *keep them taut*) there should be any anxiety to provide for the tension of cables which were stretched over a strait a mile wide, and rested on vessels in a stream running three miles an hour ! — συνθέντες is repeated after the long parenthesis. — τὰς μὲν . . . τῆς ἐτέρης, [they cast] *those* (ἀγκύρας) of [the ships forming] *one bridge towards the Pontus*. — εἵκεν, *to guard against*. — ἴσθμεν, i. e. from the Euxine. — τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης, i. e. the anchors of the other bridge. — πρὸς ἐσπέρης, sc. κατήκαν. — εἴρου, νότου : these were southeast and south winds, both blowing more or less up stream.

Page 158. — διακπλοον : the small craft (πλοῖα λεπτά) would pass in and out underneath the cables.

11. χωρὶς ἑκάταρα, i. e. the flaxen cables and those of papyrus. — αἰλαι, *weighed* : if the talent here meant is the Euboean, or old Attic, a cubit (eighteen inches) weighed nearly eighty pounds. — τὰν ὅλων τοῦ τόνου, *the stretching of the cables*, i. e. *the cables, as they were stretched across the strait*. — ἐπετέγγυσον, *joined them above*, either by ropes or by strips of wood.

12. χυτοί, *breakwaters*. — ῥηχίης, *surf* : the tide in this sea being very slight. — ὁ ἥλιος : no eclipse of the sun, visible at Sardis, took place in B. C. 480, if the latest astronomical calculations can be trusted ; the story here told may belong to the departure from Susa in the preceding year, when there was such an eclipse. The date of the invasion of Xerxes (B. C. 480) is too well established to admit of doubt. — ἐπινέφελον ἰόντων, genitive absolute : the indicative would be ἐπινέφελά ἔστιν, *it is cloudy* (G. 135, 2). — αἰθρίης (noun), *in fair weather*, is genitive of time (G. 179, 1). — τὸ ἰθέλοι (= τί ἰθέλοι), τὸ being relative used interrogatively (G. 282, 1). — προδέκτορα, verbal of προδέκνυμι, *that which designates or foreshows*.

Page 159. — 13. ἀναμύ, i. e. not divided into separate bodies, as they marched according to cities or provinces. — διαλέλειπτο, impersonal. — οὔτοι, *these*, who marched in advance. — προηγύντο, i. e. led the part of the army which accompanied the king ; opposed to οὔτοι — κάτω τρέψαντες, this was a mark of respect to the king, who followed them. — ἄρμα Διὸς : by Zeus Hdt. means the chief God of the Persians, Auramazda or Ormuzd.

14. λόγος, choice or fancy. — κατὰ νόμον, i. e. with point upward. — οἶτος, the ten thousand just mentioned. — βοιάς, pomegranates, probably as sacred emblems. — ἀντὶ σαυρωτήρων, in the place of points at the lower end. — οἱ . . . τρέποντες (Ion. for τρέποντες, present), those who preceded the Nisæan horses (§ 13).

Page 160. — 15. Σκάμανδρον, the Scamander of the Iliad: here a shallow brook, in a bed about two hundred feet broad; in the dry season only three feet deep. — βέβρον (G. 160, 1). — οὐδ' ἀπέχρησε . . . πινόμενος, and did not have water sufficient for the army to drink (lit. did not suffice when drunk, &c.). — ὡς ἀπύκτο repeats the genitive absolute ἀπύκτου after the long relative clause.

16. "On this transit from Asia into Europe, Herodotus dwells with peculiar emphasis; and well he might do so, since when we consider the bridges, the invading number, the unmeasured hopes succeeded by no less unmeasured calamity, it will appear not only to have been the most imposing event of his century, but to rank among the most imposing events of all history." Grote. — καὶ . . . γὰρ are here to be separated, and — as (for) a seat had been erected for him here, &c. (See note on I. § 5, above.) — ἐθηεῖτο = ἐθεατο. — ὦρα = ἰώρα, imperfect of ὀράω.

17. ὦνῃρ = ὁ ἀνῃρ. — φρασθεῖς, perceiving (see Lexicon). — ὡς . . . εἰ περιέσται, the direct exclamation would be, πῶς . . . ἐστίν, εἰ περιέσται; how short is the whole of man's life, if no one . . . is to be alive, &c. (G. 221, N.).

Page 161. — the second οὕτω qualifies εὐδαίμων. — τῷ (G. 237, N.). — γλυκὴν γεύσας τὴν αἰῶνα, after giving [man] a taste of the sweetness of life, lit. a taste of life as (being) sweet. — φθονερός, jealous, i. e. lest man should vie with him in blessedness.

18. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ ἐμείων χρητίζων, wanting this (G. 148, N. 1) of you: so δέομαι occasionally takes two genitives, instead of the common construction (G. 172, N. 1). — ξυνὸν . . . σπεύδεται, for this which we are seeking is for the good of all in common: the construction being τοῦτο γὰρ σπεύδεται (passive) [δν] ἀγαθὸν πᾶσι ξυνόν: the adjective ξυνός = κοινός. — ἐντεταμένως, vigorously (adverb formed from participle of ἐντείνω). — τῶν (= ὧν) for καὶ τούτων. — οὐ μὴ τις . . . ἀντιστή (2 aorist), an emphatic future expression (G. 257). — λελόγχασι (v. λαγχάνω), have in charge (as if assigned by lot): cf. Latin sortiti sunt.

19. τὸν ἥλιον, the Sun, under the name of Mithra, was one of the chief objects of worship in the Persian religion.

Page 162. — ἡ μιν παύσαι (G. 236). — πρότερον ἢ . . . γένηται, = πρὶν ἂν . . . γένηται (G. 240, N.). — ἀκινάκην, a short, straight-pointed sword, or dirk. — μαστιγώσαντι (G. 277, 2).

20. ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτὸς Ξέρξης, i. e. after the chariot. — ἀνήγοντο, went off from the shore.

21. *αἰδόμενος, likening thyself; θέμενος, taking to thyself. — ξήν . . . ποῖεν* (G. 222, N. 2).

22. *τὸν Ἑλλησπόντον*, accusative governed by the phrase *ξω πλέων*, as if it were a compound verb like *ἐκλέπειν*, which takes the accusative. — *πρὸς πόντον τὰ ἑμπαλιν τοῦ περὶ*, taking the opposite direction from the land force (lit. *doing the opposite*), i. e. sailing southwest towards the Aegean, while the army marched northeast into Thrace. — *Δορίσκον*: this was a strong Persian fortress, which had been held since the invasion of Scythia by Darius. (See note on I. § 6.)

Page 163. — 23. *πλήθος ἀριθμὸν, number of people. — τοῦ περὶ, of the foot-soldiers* (as we know from Hdt. VII. 184, where the cavalry are estimated at 80,000 in addition to this number. — *τὸ πλήθος*: by this reckoning, 1,700,000 men, a very uncertain estimate, as the numbers might easily be exaggerated in the loose way of counting. Ctesias makes 800,000, and Aelian 700,000; but "we may well believe," says Mr. Grote, "that the numbers of Xerxes were greater than were ever assembled in ancient times, or perhaps at any known epoch of history." — *συννάξαντες ταύτην*, i. e. *τὴν μυριάδα*. Compare *κατανάξαντες τὴν γῆν* in § 11, above. — *ὕψος* (G. 160, 1).

24. *διεξέλασας* (G. 138, N. 8) *θηήσασθαι, to see them in review* (G. 204, N. 2). — *μετά, afterwards. — ἀπὲρ γραφὸν οἱ γραμματισταί*: these lists, it has been thought, may have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, and been the authority for the account of Hdt. (see Rawlinson). — *δύον τι τέσσαρα, about four*; *τέ* being used by Hdt. after *δύος*, as it is even in Attic Greek after *οἷος*, *able* (G. 151, N. 4). — *ἀνεκώχουν* (v. *ἀνακώχων*). See I. § 22.

Page 164. — *ἐντός, between*, governs both *πρῶτων* and *αἰγιαλῶν*.

25. *τοὺς . . . ἐμποδών, whoever came in his way. — ἐς πᾶν κακοῦ, into all sorts of distress. — ἀνάστατοι ἐγένοντο, lost house and home. — δκου (= δπου), at which time. — Θασίοισι . . . ἀπέδξε* (v. *ἀποδέκνυμι*), *rendered an account to the Thasians for 400 talents spent* (about \$400,000). Compare *ἀποδεκνύει λόγον. — ἀραιρημένος* (v. *αἰρώ*), *appointed* (to manage the business).

Herodotus adds: "As soon as the herald's message came, the people would distribute their stores of grain, and proceed to grind wheat and barley-flour for many months' supply; then buy up and fatten the finest cattle; feed poultry and waterfowl in pens and coops for the service of the army; and provide gold and silver drinking-cups and bowls. These things for the king's table only; for the others, food alone. When the army arrived, a tent stood ready spread, in which Xerxes took his rest, while the troops remained in the open air. When dinner-time came, great was the toil of the entertainers; and after spending the night well fed, the army next day tore down the tent, and carried off all it held, leaving nothing."

26. *ἔπος εὖ εἰρημένον, a saying well expressed, a bon mot. — καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, also for the future* (as they had done in the present case). — *παρέχων ἄν, = παρέχων ἄν* (G. 211); depends on the idea of *saying* implied in

συνεβόλυνε: for it would have subjected them to the alternative, &c. — κάκιστα, &c., by the worst fate that ever befell men. (G. 168.)

27. ἑυμένειν, to wait (for him). — ἀπήκε (v. ἀφ(ημι), sent off. — Θέρμη δέ τῇ . . . οἰκημένη, and [I mean] Therma which is situated, &c.

The account of the march of Xerxes from Doriscus (§ 25) to Acanthus (§ 27), which is chiefly descriptive, is here omitted. Acanthus is just northwest of the Isthmus of Mount Athos, through which the canal (§ 4) had been dug by order of Xerxes. Here therefore, as is stated in § 27, the king separated from his fleet, sending it through the canal and round the two western capes of Chalcidice to the head of the Gulf of Therma. The only account given by Herodotus of the passage of the fleet through the canal is in the words (VII. 122), διεξέπλωσε τὴν διώρυχα τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄθῳ γενομένην. The fleet remained at Therma until its departure for the coast of Thessaly (p. 171, § 5).

Meanwhile Xerxes marched with his army across Chalcidice, from Acanthus to Therma. On the way (according to Hdt. VII. 125) the camels which carried the provisions were attacked by lions (?). On reaching Therma, they encamped on the shore of the Gulf, the camp extending from Therma to the mouth of the Haliaeum on the western coast. South of this river and north of Mount Olympus was Pieria, celebrated as the birthplace and the home of the nine Muses. In this region Xerxes remained (§ 28), until he began his march of eleven or twelve days to Thermopylae (p. 174, § 13).

28. κήρυκες: see p. 156, § 7. — κανοί (= κενοί), empty-handed.

Page 165. — ἵταμον ὄρκιον: cf. Latin ferire foedus. — καταστάντων εἶ, having come into (i. e. being in) a good condition. — σφί (G. 184, 3, n. 4). — δεκατεῖσαι (causal) depends on ὄρκιον εἶχε, as if it were they took an oath to, &c. (G. 271).

29. Δαρείου πέψαντος: see p. 146, § 2. — οἱ μὲν, the Athenians. — τὸ βάραθρον, the pit: this was a deep hole at Athens, like a well, into which the dead bodies of executed criminals (and sometimes even living criminals) were cast, iron hooks in the sides tearing the body to pieces as it fell. Miltiades is said to have counselled this act, wishing to commit the city to inexorable hostility against Persia. — συνήνεκε (v. συμ-φύρω) γενέσθαι, chanced to befall. — ἀνεύλετον, lit. unwelcome, belongs to 5 π. — In later times it was believed that the misfortunes of Miltiades were the retribution of this impiety. In Sparta, the wrath of the hero Talchibius, herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the state, and would not be appeased until two noble Spartans had offered themselves in expiation, and surrendered themselves to the Persians; Xerxes, however, generously spared their lives. But their sons, when proceeding as Spartan envoys to Persia, during the Peloponnesian War, were captured by the Athenians and put to death. Then at length, sixty years after it was committed, the crime against the ambassadors of Darius was atoned.

30. κατ'ερω, was sent forth. — οὐδὲν πεσιόμενοι ἄχαρι, likely to suffer no harm.



31. *ἔμμεγμαι, I am constrained.* Herodotus is writing some fifty years after the Persian wars, when Athens was unpopular in consequence of the extent of her empire.

Page 166. — *ἐπαρῶντο ἀντιέμμενοι, would have attempted opposition:* in Hdt. *παρόμαι* takes the participle like the verbs mentioned in G. 279, 4, N. — *ἦντιούτο* and *ἐγένετο* both refer to past time, like *ἐπαρῶντο* *ἀν* above (G. 222). — *εἰ καὶ πολλαί, i. e. no matter how many.* — *κυθῶνες* (Ionic for *χυτῶνες*), an unusual expression for *walls*: Hdt. once calls a wall a *θόρηξ* (I. 181), and Demades the orator uses *ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως* in the same sense. (Krüger.) Compare the English *curtain* of a fortress. — *διηλαμένοι διὰ, extended across.* — *προδοθέντες ἀν . . . ἐμυνώθησαν:* *ἀν* belongs to the verb (*not* to the participle). So below, in *μουνυθέντες ἀν . . . ἀπίθανον:* in § 32, *ὄφροντες ἀν . . . ἀν ἐχρήσαντο*, we find *ἀν* repeated on account of the length of the sentence, as it might have been in the two other cases. (See G. 212, 2; and also *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 3, Note 1).

32. *πρὸ τοῦ, beforehand* (G. 143, 2). — *βασιλεὺς ἐπικρατίοντος, protasis to ἦν ἀν, = εἰ βασιλεὺς ἐπικράτει* (G. 226, 1). — *ἀν τις λέγων:* *ἀν* belongs to *ἐμαρτάνοι*: see last note on § 31, above. — *τοῦτο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν* (accusative after *ἐγείραντες*) = *τούτους τοὺς Ἕλληνας*.

Page 167. — 33. The oracles are in hexameter verse (G. 295, 4), and the language is generally an imitation of the Homeric; the constructions are often confused, as would be expected from the fact that the verses were (or purported to be) spoken under the inspiration of the moment. (1.) *φεῖν'* is addressed to the whole people represented by the messengers, as if it were but one person. — *ἔσχατα γαίης, to the ends of the earth* (G. 162). (2.) *δόματα* and *κρήνη* are governed by *λιπών*. — *τροχαιοδέος* refers to the walls of Athens, which made an irregular circuit around the Acropolis or citadel. (3.) *ἔμπεδον* (as adverb), *firm, in its place*. (4.) *μέσσης* (for *μέστης*), sc. *πόλεως*. (5.) *κατὰ* belongs to *ἐρείπει* (G. 191, N. 3). (6.) *Συριηγενέις, i. e. Assyrian:* the Persians, who were highlanders, having learned the use of chariots from the Assyrians of the plain. — *διώκων, driving:* in the Persians of Aeschylus (vs. 33), Xerxes is said to come *Σύριον ἄρμα διώκων*. (7.) *ἀπολεῖ, sc. Ἄρης*. (8.) *ἰδρώτι ῥεούμενοι, dripping with sweat*, in their terror. (9.) *κατὰ* belongs to *κίχυνται*: the meaning seems to be that *blood falls in showers from the temple roofs*, in which case the dative *ὀρόφοισι* must be explained as in certain Homeric constructions (G. 184, 3, N. 1-4). But *καταχέω* generally takes the dative in Homer (as the genitive in Attic) in the sense *shower down upon*, which does not suit the present passage as well, but perhaps is correct. — (10.) *προϊδόν, foreboding*, as if the blood were itself terrified. (11.) *ἴτων*, apparently addressed to *two* messengers; but the plural follows immediately. — *ἐπικύματα, &c., deluge your souls with woes* (perfundite animum malis, Stein); or (as Liddell and Scott translate), *spread a brave spirit*

*over your ill*: the former suits the context better: κλῶνῃμ is kindred to σκεδάννυμι, *scatter*.

34. ἐλρέοντο, *felt themselves in*. — προβάλλουσι σφείας αὐτοῖς, *abandoning themselves to despair* (dat. after συνεβούλευε). — ἱκετηρίας (ράβδους), *the suppliant olive-branches*. — ἑλθόντας agrees with the omitted subject of χρᾶσθαι, instead of taking the case of σφί (G. 138, n. 8). — ἀναξ (= δᾶναξ): for the special sense of the title ἀναξ in Homer, see Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 152, according to whom it corresponds nearest with the partly religious and partly feudal term *Lord*. — ἔστ' ἂν τελευτήσωμεν (G. 239, 2).

35. λέγουσι (dative), *as they spoke*. (2.) λισσομένη (G. 277, 5). (3.) ἀδάμαντι πέλσοντας (sc. αὐτό), *making it like* (i. e. *firm as*) *adamant*. (4.) οἶρος may be either for ὄρος, *mount, hill*, or for ὄρος, *boundary*: it may mean, therefore, either the Acropolis of Athens or the bounds of Attica. Cecrops is one of the early (mythical) kings of Athens, in whose reign (says Hdt.) the people were called Κεκροπίδαι. (5.) Κιβαιρώνας, the boundary of Attica towards Delphi (see map). (6.) τεῖχος ξύλινον, *this is the celebrated wooden wall of the oracle*. (δ.) μένειν, infinitive for imperative.

Page 168. — (10.) ἔτι . . . ἔσση, *yet a day shall come (πότε) when thou shalt meet him*. (12.) Rawlinson translates

"When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

36. συνωστηκυῖαι, *opposed*, like wrestlers who *stand together* in the ring. — ῥήχῃ, *palisade*: there were a few who clung to this interpretation, and perished on the sacred hill (see IV. § 34). — κατὰ τὸν φραγμὸν . . . εἶναι, *was (used) with reference to, &c.* — τοῦτο, *this expression*. — συνεχέοντο, *were confounded* (con-fusi).

37. Θεμιστοκλῆς, a Greek of the Greeks, able, keen-witted, patriotic, and unscrupulous: the man who by his single counsel proved the deliverer of Greece. — εἰ . . . ἰόντως, *if the saying had really been uttered with reference to the Athenians* (εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον = εἰρητο: Stein). — οὐκ ἂν . . . χρησθῆναι = οὐκ ἂν ἐχρήσθη (G. 211). — μιν δοκίειν, (he said) *that he believed*. — τῷ θεῷ, *by the God* (G. 188, 3).

Page 169. — συλλαμβάνοντι κατὰ τὸ ὀρθόν, *to one judging rightly* (G. 184, 5): Themistocles may probably have devised the oracle, as well as the interpretation, wishing to impress the deepest terror at the real danger, so as to overcome the timid clinging to the city, and persuade the people to accept the only chance of safety. — τούτου, *this*, refers to παρασκευάζεσθαι . . . ναυμαχίοντας: i. e. the *ships* (here implied) were the wooden wall of the oracle. — ἔγνωσαν, *decided* (G. 200, n. 55): σφί belongs to αἰρετάτερα. — τὸ σῆμα εἶναι (G. 268, n.), *in short*.

38. ἐς καιρὸν ἥρσενυσε, *prevailed (proved to be best) seasonably*. — τῶν ἀπὸ Δαυρείου (G. 191, n. 6) belongs to μετέλλων. — ὀρχηδόν, *in shares*, to each male citizen. If Hdt. is right (V. 97) is estimating the Athenian

citizens at thirty thousand, the sum must have been fifty talents (about fifty thousand dollars). — **δέκα δραχμαίς**, about two dollars. — **χηρημάτων**, genitive of price. — **δικοσίας**: as Athens had only two hundred ships at Salamis, and must have had a fleet before this resolution of Themistocles (Miltiades sailed to Paros just after the battle of Marathon with seventy ships), and as fifty talents are an incredibly small sum for building two hundred ships of war, we must understand Hdt. to mean that this money was used (with other sums from the treasury) in building the fleet of two hundred ships which fought at Salamis. Plutarch (Them. IV.) says the money from the mines was used in building one hundred ships. — **τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας**: see above, I. § 3. The Aeginetans at this time had the finest navy in Greece, and they were called **θαλασσοκράτορες**, *rulers of the sea*, during the ten years from 490 to 480 B. C. Plutarch says of them at this time, **καταίχον οἱ Αἰγινήται πλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν**. — **ἐς τὸ**, *for what* (for the purpose for which). — **ἐς δέον**, nearly equivalent to **ἐς καιρὸν**, *seasonably*. — **τοῖσι βουλομένοισι** (G. 186).

39. **ἐς τὸντό**, *into one place*, probably the Isthmus of Corinth, afterwards the place of meeting of various councils of war (see below, III. § 1). — **σφίσιν**, *to each other*, as reflexive in sense of reciprocal (G. 146, N. 3; 144, 2). — **πρῶτον . . . πάντων**, *first of all things*: according to Plutarch, Themistocles proposed this general reconciliation. — **ἐγκεκρημένοι** (which is an emendation for **ἐγκεκρημένοι**), from **ἐγκεκράννυμι**: the wars are said to have been *mixed up or concocted*. See **πόλεμος συνήπτο** above, I. § 3.

Page 170. — **πρηγμάτων**, objective genitive. — **φρονήσαντες εἰ πως ἐν τε γίνοντο**, &c.: the sense is, they resolved to send these spies and messengers, *having formed a wise plan* (**φρονήσαντες**) *in case the Greek race should in any way become united*, &c. The apodosis to **εἰ . . . γίνοντο . . . πρήσσειεν** is suppressed (G. 226, N.), being implied in the context: i. e. *their plan would succeed* (or the like) in case of union. See Hdt. VI. 52: **βουλομένην εἰ πως ἀμφότεροι γενέσθαι βασιλῆες**, *wishing that both might in some way become kings*, lit. *having a wish* (which would be realized) *in case both should in some way become kings*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 53, N. 2). — **ὡς . . . ἐπιδόντων** gives the ground on which the Greeks acted (G. 277, N. 2).

In the narrative which follows, the spies sent to Persia are taken and brought before Xerxes, who "gave orders to his guard to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart's content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired," — thinking he was thus surest to terrify the Greeks from all thought of resistance. Argos jealously refused the alliance, unless she should have equal command with Sparta, claiming that the supreme authority was justly hers, by right of descent from Agamemnon. She was even charged with having invited the Persians to the invasion of Greece. Gelo (whose exploits in Sicily are told at length) refused his aid, unless he should be put in supreme com-

mand, — to which the Greeks retorted that they came “to ask for an army, and not a general”; so Gelo stood ready to submit if the Persians were victorious. He afterwards claimed, however, that he would have helped the Greeks but for the embarrassment of a war with Hamilcar of Carthage. Corcyra promised help, but kept back her fleet (under pretence of head winds) till the crisis was past. The Cretans refused to assist, having once suffered calamity from Minos (who had perished in his pursuit of Dædalus) for the aid given by Idomeneus in the Trojan war. And the Thesalians submitted, reluctantly, to overwhelming force.

### III.

Page 170. — 1.  $\tau\eta$  (=  $\eta$ ), *where* (in what region). —  $\epsilon\nu$   $\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$   $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota$ , *on what sort of ground*. —  $\iota\sigma\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$ , i. e. from Thessaly into Central Greece. —  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\varsigma$   $\Theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\lambda\iota\alpha\nu$ , i. e. the pass of Tempe, at the mouth of the Peneius. Herodotus gives three reasons why the pass of Thermopylae was preferred: the second ( $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\mu\iota\alpha$ ), that it was *single*, refers to the Persians having entered Thessaly by another route, and not by Tempe as was expected; and to justify the choice on this ground, he mentions the ignorance of the Greeks as to the mountain pass,  $\tau\eta\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\nu$ , by which Thermopylae was finally turned. —  $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota\eta\pi\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , the territory of Histiaea (afterwards Oreus) in the north of Euboea. (For the bearing of these places, see a map of Greece.) This position was chosen to prevent the Persian fleet from taking the flank or rear of their force at Thermopylae.

2.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\tau\omicron$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ , *first, as to Artemisium*:  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  corresponds to  $\eta$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\alpha\upsilon$  . . .  $\iota\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (i. e. the pass of Thermopylae) below. —  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$  . . .  $\Theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\omicron\upsilon$ , *after* (coming from) *the Thracian sea*. —  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (sc.  $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\epsilon\varsigma$  . . .  $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$ , *it* (the sea) *contracts into the strait, &c.* —  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ , i. e. *after passing the strait, the shore* (of) *Artemisium in Euboea* (possessive genitive) *comes next*:  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  is used like  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  and  $\upsilon\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  (§ 3), *excipit*. —  $\acute{\eta}\mu\iota\pi\lambda\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$ , about 50 feet. The line of the coast is now much farther from the hill, owing to the deposits made by the river. Rawlinson says: “The pass is now separated from the sea throughout its entire extent by a tract of marshy ground, a mile or two in width.” —  $\tau\omicron$   $\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , *the narrowest part of the whole pass*:  $\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\varsigma$  is used as Thucydides speaks of the Peloponnesian war as  $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\pi\tau\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ , *lit. the most notable of those which had preceded it*; and as we often hear a thing called “the most perfect of all others.” See map of Thermopylae at the end of the volume.

Page 171. — 3.  $\tau\omicron$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$  (G. 160, 2), *towards the west*: in fact, more nearly towards the south; Hdt. thought of the coast as lying from north to south. —  $\chi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , *caldrons*: of these there are two, enclosed in masonry. The hot springs of Thermopylae are salt, and of the

temperature of 100° Fahr. — Ἡρακλῆος: it was said that these springs were created miraculously that Hercules might have a warm bath after one of his labors. — τὴν Αἰολίδα, *the Aeolian land*, the more ancient name of Thessaly. This irruption of Thessalians from Epirus is one of the earliest movements mentioned in the traditions of the race afterwards called Hellenic. Thucydides (I. 12) speaks of the migration of Boeotians from Arne in Thessaly into the land afterwards called Boeotia, a result of this Thessalian migration; and he assigns the sixtieth year after the capture of Troy as its date. — ἐπήκαν, *conducted* (by trenches). — ὡς δὲ: Homer and Hdt. sometimes used ὡς δὲ and ὅπως δὲ with the optative, as all writers do with the subjunctive, without affecting the sense (G. 216, 1, N. 2). Here the δὲ belongs to the particle, not to the verb (G. 207, 2); in Attic Greek, such an δὲ would belong to the verb and form an apodosis.

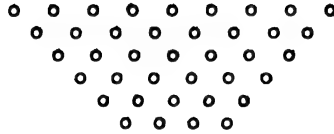
4. ἐν Πιερίῃ: see note on II. § 27, above. — διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, *breaking up* [at, and departing] *from the Isthmus*.

Page 172. — 5. ἐπὶ Σκιάθου (G. 182, 2). — Τροϊζηνή: this ship was captured by the Persians, who (as Hdt. adds) “took the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him at the ship’s prow,” reckoning it a good omen, — the more so as the man’s name was *Leon*. The two other triremes were taken; but the crew of the Athenian ship escaped. On hearing of this advance of the Persian fleet, the Greeks left their anchorage at Artemisium, and retreated to Chalcis on the western coast of Euboea.

6. περὶ τὸ ἔρμα, *upon the reef*: this still lies in the mid-channel. — κομίσαντες, *having brought it* (the column) for this purpose. — καθαρὸν, *removed*, i. e. by being made harmless. — ἑνδεκα ἡμέρας: see note on II. § 27, above. — πανημερὸν πλῶντες: the distance is about 100 miles. — τῆς Μαγνησίης χώρας, *possessive genitive with the following accusatives*. — στρατός, *the whole armament* (army and navy).

In the estimate which follows (VII. 184–187, here omitted), Herodotus makes the whole Persian armament, including army and navy, before the battle of Thermopylae and before the storm, to consist of 2,641,610 men. To the number of 1,700,000 foot-soldiers counted in the review at Doriscus (see above, II. § 23), he now adds 80,000 for the cavalry, 517,610 for the crews and marines of the fleet, 20,000 for Arabs with camels and Libyans with chariots, and lastly 324,000 for the land and sea forces furnished by the Thracians, Macedonians, and Thessalians, whom Xerxes had pressed into his service since he entered Europe (see II. § 25). This immense total of 2,641,610 Herodotus proposes to double, to include all the non-combatants (attendants, crews of corn-vessels, and camp-followers), giving a grand total for the entire host of 5,283,220! Rawlinson, on various grounds, reduces the estimates for the military force to about 1,500,000, taking no account of the still greater exaggerations in the number of non-combatants. “Of all these myriads,” says Herodotus, “there was not one who for beauty and stature better deserved to hold this vast power than Xerxes himself.”

7. *πρόκροσσαι* . . . *νῆας*, they lay at anchor, arranged alternately (or in a quincunx), heading seaward, and eight rows deep. The scholia on II. XIV. 35 explain *προκρόσσαι* (sc. *νῆας*) *ἔρυσαν* as follows: *ἄλλην πρὸ ἄλλης παραλλήλως ἀνέδικυσαν κλιμακῆδόν*, i. e. they drew them up in parallel rows like steps; Aristarchus adds, that this would give the appearance of a theatre, *κρόσσαι γὰρ αἱ κλιμακες*. This means the seats of the Greek theatre, which were *steps* like those of a modern circus; and we may refer *κλιμακῆδόν* (= *πρόκροσσαι*) to the general appearance of the ships from the sea, which, if they were arranged (for example) as in the figure,



might suggest the idea of a *cuneus* in the theatre, especially if the shore were curved, and if the inner rows of ships were drawn up (as here) on a sloping beach. In II. 125, Hdt. says that the *steps* on the outside of the pyramids of Egypt were sometimes called *κρόσσαι*. We may, however, refer *κλιμακῆδόν* to the irregular lines in which the ships were arranged from front to rear (as in the second figure). For another explanation, opposed to that of Aristarchus, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. *πρόκροσσαι*. — *οὕτω* (sc. *ἔρυσαν*). — *ἰερόσσης*, having become seething (i. e. before the storm burst). — *ἀπὸ-ἤλιος*, properly an east wind, here (east-northeast, referring to the *Ἑλλησποντίας*. — *τοῖσι* . . . *ὄρμου*, who were so anchored (as to allow it): for *οὕτω εἶχε ὄρμου* (impersonal), see G. 168, n. 3. — *οἱ δέ* (G. 234; 227, 2), these. — *ἀναστάντες* (G. 279, 4). — *ἐλαβε* (sc. *ὁ χειμὼν*). — *Ἰπνοῖς*, *Ovens*: see below. — *τοῦ χειμῶνος χρέμα*, the matter of the storm, a common expression for the storm: cf. *ὁς χρέμα μέγα*, a huge wild boar (Hdt. I. 36).

Most writers place Sepias, the rocky headland on which the Persian fleet was wrecked, near the southeastern point of Magnesia, or even (as Grote) beyond that point upon the southern coast. For the following account of the topography we are indebted to Professor Sophocles, who was born on the coast of Magnesia, and who has known the whole shore as a boy and studied it as a scholar:—

The east-northeast wind, the *Ἑλλησποντίας* of the ancients, is still the terror of navigators on the "harborless coast of Pelion" (Eurip. *Alcest.* 595). But it is dreaded chiefly north of Cape Nekhóri; a vessel overtaken by the wind south of this point can easily enter the channel between Thessaly and Euboea. The rocky headland directly east of the highest point of Pelion agrees best with the accounts of Sepias. Between this and the probable site of Casthanaia (four miles below) are two beaches, separated by a point of rocks. North of Sepias is another small beach, beyond which are several caves in the steep cliffs (*ἐν Πηλῷ*), which are probably the *Ἰπνοί* or *Ovens*. On these three beaches the fleet must have been drawn up, and here the disaster must have occurred.

Page 173. — 8. Ὀρείθυιαν: Orithyia, daughter of the Attic king Erechtheus, was said to have been carried off by Boreas (the northeast wind), as she was picking flowers on the banks of the Ilissus. The story is pleasantly told in the beginning of Plato's *Phaedrus*. — ἄρμηται, *has gone forth or spread*. — περὶ Ἄθων: see above, I. § 4, and note on I. § 2.

9. λίγουςι διαφθαρήναι is understood with οὐκ ἐλάσσονας — γηοχέοντι, *being a landholder* (γήοχος or γαίοχος). — καὶ τοῦτον, *him too* (as well as other men), object of λυπεῖσθαι — συμφορῇ . . . παιδοφόρος, *a calamity afflicting him by the death of a child* (or children): this seems to imply that he was accidentally the cause of his child's (or children's) death.

10. οὐκ ἐπὶν ἀριθμὸς, *there was no reckoning*. — καταειδόντες γόησι, *singing incantations by enchanters*: γόησι is suspected by many recent editors. — ἀνέμῳ belongs to both participles. — Θέτι, *Thetis*, the sea-goddess, mother of Achilles. It was said that the place at which Thetis was seized by Peleus was called Sepias, because she there changed herself into a cuttlefish (σηπία) to escape her lover.

Page 174. — 11. ὀπίσω ἡπείγοντο: see note on § 5, above. — ἐπωνυμίην . . . νομίζοντες, *keeping up the name*, i. e. continuing to invoke Poseidon with this title of *Saviour*.

12. τὴν ἀκρὴν: the southeast cape of Thessaly, often mistaken for Sepias itself. — ὀθείαν (sc. ὀδόν), *straight*. — φέροντα, *leading* (Pagasae being at the head of the bay, the Gulf of Volo). — εἴτ' . . . ἔπλεον, i. e. on the Argonautic expedition, τὸ κῶας being the famous Golden Fleece. — Ἀφεταί, *Aphetae*, or place of *departure*, from ἀφίημι (through ἀφετος) in its neuter sense seen in ἀφήσειν, *to set sail*.

13. πορευθεῖς: see note on II. § 27, above. — ἐς Μηλιάς, i. e. into the land of the Malians, at the head of the Gulf of Malis, in whose territory was the outer end of the pass of Thermopylae. — τὸ ριέθρον (G. 160, 1) belongs to ἀπέχρησε: see note on II. § 15, above.

Page 175. — οὗτος is not antecedent to δοτις, but repeats the idea of the relative clause for emphasis.

14. ἀμυντὶς τε καὶ ῥηχίη, *ebb and flow* of the tide, which is seldom sufficient to be noticed in the Mediterranean. — ἰόντι (G. 184, 5). — βοηθέντα, *as an aid*: the future is more common in this sense (G. 277, 3). — καιομένῳ, *when he burnt himself* on Mount Oeta. — ἀποφανῆναι (G. 203).

15. κατ' ἧ, *at which = where*, referring to ταύτῃ (where ἧ would have been more regular). — δισχιλία . . . πλείθρα, 22,000 *plethra*, i. e. in surface: the πλείθρον is a long measure of 100 (Greek) feet in length, or a square measure of 10,000 square feet; the Trachinian plain, therefore, must have contained nearly 8 square miles.

16. Ἄσωπον, not to be confounded with the Boeotian Asopus (see above, I. § 13).

Page 176. — **Ἀμφικτύουσι**, i. e. for the Amphictyonic Council, which met twice in each year, once at Thermopylae and once at Delphi. The word **Ἀμφικτύονες** (the same as **ἀμφικτύονες**) originally meant *neighbors*, and shows the origin of this and other similar assemblies. The hero Amphictyon, whose temple is here mentioned, was probably invented to connect the foundation of this famous council with the Greek mythology.

17. **Θερμοπύλαι**, from the *hot* springs. — **φερόντων** (like **ἔχόντων** just before it), *extending*: see note on § 12, above. — **τὸ ἐπὶ . . . ἡπείρου** (G. 160), *as regards what was on this continent* (Greece): see above, § 3.

18. **τοσούτοι μὲν**, i. e. the 2120 just mentioned.

19. **ἤκουεν** represents **ἤκουον** of the direct discourse (G. 200, N. 3). — **οὐ γὰρ θεὸν εἶναι**: the indirect discourse changes here from the optative to the infinitive (G. 246). — **τῷ (= φ)** . . . **συνεμύχθη**: this aorist, being in a dependent clause, could not be changed to the optative (G. 247, N. 2). — **ἔφελλαν . . . πεσεῖν ἄν**, *ought to fall*: **ἄν** may belong to **ἔφελλαν** (= **ἔφελαι ἄν**), *it would be his due to fall*; or it may belong to **πεσεῖν** (**πίσει ἄν**), *it is his due that he should fall* (if he should test his fortune). In the former case it is very irregular in its position; in the latter, in its construction. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 42, 2, N.; § 41, N. 4.)

Page 177. — 20. Hdt. honors Leonidas, the king of Sparta who belonged to the elder branch of the royal family, by giving his genealogy through the line of Spartan kings up to Aristodemus, the great-great-grandson of Hercules, one of the semi-fabulous Heraclidae who led the Dorian invasion of Peloponnesus. The twin sons of Aristodemus — Eurysthenes and Procles — founded the two lines of Spartan kings. (See Smith's larger *History of Greece*, Chap. IV.)

21. **ἔρσενος γόνου** (G. 180, 1, N. 2): Leonidas became king in 491 B. C. — **εἰς**, i. e. in marriage. — **τοὺς κατεστώτας**, *the established number of 300*, this being the regular body-guard of a Spartan king; Leonidas, however, knowing the desperate nature of the present undertaking, instead of taking youths, as usual, now took only those who had sons living, that no family might become extinct.

22. **κατηγόρητο**, impersonal (G. 194, N. 2), *it had been charged against them*, **μηδίζαν** being the subject. — **εἰτε συμπέμψουσι**: the future optative might be used (G. 243). — **ἀλλοφρονέοντες**, *reluctantly, or leaning to the other side*.

23. **ἴνα . . . στρατεύωνται** (G. 216, 2); subj. on the principle of indirect discourse. — **μηδέ**, and not, sc. **ἴνα**: *and that these too might not join the Persians in case they should learn, &c.* (G. 248). — **ὀπισθασμένους**, *backward, putting off*. — **Κάρνεα**, the same festival which kept the Spartans from Marathon: see note on I. § 8. — **ὀρτάσαντες**, *after keeping the festival*.



Page 178. — ἐνέωντο (v. νόω). — ὥς δὲ καὶ . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπρα τοιαῦτα, pleonastic. — συμπεσοῦσα (like an adjective with ἦν), *coincident*: the Olympic festival occurred every fourth year on the first full moon after the summer solstice, about a month before the Spartan Carneia.

24. ὀλοῦσι (G. 138, N. 8). — περισπερχόντων, *being much incensed*. the word is very doubtful, and most probably a mistake for περισπερχθέντων (see Liddell and Scott). — ἀλίξασθαι depends on ὀλίγων, *too few*.

25. ὅκωσι . . . ποίειεν (G. 243): the direct questions would be πόσους εἰσὶν; and τί ποιοῦσιν; — τοὺς ἡγεμόνας (G. 160, 1), *by anticipation*, instead of being subject of εἰσαν. — Ἡρακλείδης: see above, § 20. — τῶν μὲν οὖ, *not the whole*, in antithesis to ὃ δὲ τοὺς ἔω. — ἀλογίης . . . πολλῆς, i. e. *very little notice was taken of him*. — ὀπώπει (v. ὀρώω).

Page 179. — 26. ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ, *but . . . since*. — Δημάρτητον: Demaratus was king of Sparta in the younger or Proclid line, but was declared illegitimate and succeeded on the throne (491 B. C.) by the next heir, Leotychides; soon after which he left his country to join the Persians. He proved the most sagacious counsellor of Xerxes, but was almost always overruled by the jealousy of the Persian court-officers. — γέλωτά με ἔθεν, *you made fun of me*. — ἀγὼν μέγιστός ἐστι, *it is my utmost endeavor*.

27. νόμος, (here) *custom*. — οὕτω ἔχων, *of this nature*. — τοσοῦτοι, *so few*. — χρᾶσθαι (G. 269).

28. παρεξήκει (v. παρεξήμ), *let pass*. — φερόμενοι, *impetuously*. — ἐπεσφίσαν, *came up to succeed them* (ἐπι-). — καίπερ (G. 277, N. 1 b).

Page 180. — πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄνδρες, *many people, but few men*.

29. τρηχέως περιέποντο, *were roughly handled*: περιέπειν = *to follow round, to tend, to treat, &c.* — ἐκδεξάμενοι, *succeeding*: see note on § 2, above. — ἀθανάτους, *Immortals*: this body of 10,000 picked Persians were so called because the vacancies in their ranks were immediately filled, so that the number always remained the same (Hdt. VII. 83). — κατεργασόμενοι, sc. τοὺς Ἑλληνας. — οὐδὲν πλέον ἐφείροντο, *gained no more*: see below, § 32, μέγα τι οἴεσθαι.

30. ἄλλα τε . . . καί, *showing, both in other ways, and especially* [in this]. — ἔμπροσθεν, used (like an infinitive) with ἀποδεκνόμενοι, *showing that they thoroughly (ἐξ-) understood how to fight, &c.* (G. 280). — ὅκως ἐντρέψαιεν (G. 233). — φεύγεσκον (G. 119, 10). — εἰθεὶν implies that the flight was a pretence. — ἄν belongs to ἐπείστροφον in the iterative construction (G. 206), not in apodosis. — καταλαμβάνόμενοι, *when they were overtaken* (in their pretended flight). — εἶναι (G. 265). — ἔδυνάτο (G. 126, 5; 119, 3), imperfect for ἔδύναντο.

31. ἀναδραμεῖν, *leapt*. "With the grave Orientals, nothing could so completely indicate an all-engrossing feeling of fear or horror as a gesture of this kind." Blakesley. — κατατερωματίζεσθαι, *indirect discourse with*

ἵστασθαι after Διπίσαντος. — τὴν ἀτραπὸν, the secret *path* mentioned above in § 1. — ἐνέραν (v. ἐνορέω).

Page 181. — 32. ὁ τι . . . πρήγματι (G. 244 ; 188, 1, n. 2). — διέφθαρε, brought destruction upon. — Πυλαγόρων, a portion of the delegates to the Amphictyonic council were so called. The meeting of the council was called Πυλαία from Πύλαι (see note on § 16, above), even when it met at Delphi.

33. Πυλαγόροι: there is also a form Πυλαγόραι. — πάντως κού . . . πυθόμενοι, having certainly gained the most accurate knowledge. Many names were current of persons said to have betrayed the pass to Xerxes ; probably it may have been made known by more than one, in a region where many favored the invasion, and many more were in terror of the invader. — τοῦτο δέ, and secondly. — εἰ . . . ἀμνηστὴς εἴη, if he should have had much to do with the region, i. e. as a consequence of having had much to do with it (G. 202, 2) : for the force of the rare perfect optative, see *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 18, 1, with Note.

34. ἤρεσε (v. ἄρισκω). — τῶν ἱστρατῆγες (see note on § 29). — ἄρματα (G. 119, 3), for ἄρματα. — περὶ λύχων ἀφάς, about lamp-light.

Page 182. — τότε (see note on § 3, above). — ἐν σκίπῃ τοῦ πολέμου, sheltered from the war (G. 167, 3). — ἐκ . . . χρηστή, at so remote a period (see G. 191, n. 6) had it (the path) been shown by the Malians (G. 188, 3) to be a pernicious thing : εἶδεν χρηστή (commonly εἶδεν χρήσιμος), of no good, is a euphemism for bad : these words are sometimes understood to refer to the pass of Thermopylae itself (ἐσβολήν), and to mean that the Malians had so long ago shown the pass to be useless.

35. Μολάμπυγον : this was an epithet of Hercules, implying manliness and strength. — Κερκόπων : these Cercopes were droll, mischievous dwarfs, who appear often in the stories of Hercules, sometimes amusing and sometimes tormenting the hero. In the local legend of Thermopylae, they appear as footpads lurking about the pass (hence their seats, ἔδρας, at the narrowest place), where they steal the arms of Hercules while he is sleeping. Hercules seizes two of them and ties them to a pole, which he throws over his shoulders and walks away with them. They have been warned by their mother to beware of the Μολάμπυγος ; and on seeing this characteristic of Hercules as they are swinging behind him, they make such sport of him that finally he too begins to laugh at their jokes and releases them. A bas-relief taken from a temple at Selinus in Sicily represents Hercules carrying the two Cercopes on his shoulders. The stone called Μολάμπυγος probably had some imaginary resemblance to the sleeping Hercules.

36. τὰ Οἰταῖον : the mountain (usually called Callidromus) over which the path led forms a part of the Thessalian range of Oeta : the words ἐν δεξιῇ refer to the march southward and eastward after crossing the Asopus. — ῥυόμενοι, keeping guard (as protectors). — φρουρέοντες, guarding (as sentinels). — ἡ κάτω ἐσβολή (G. 141, n. 3), i. e. Thermopylae itself. — ἐποθεσάμενοι, having pledged themselves (or given a promise) to Leonidas.

37. ἀναβιβηκότας (G. 280). — ὡς, *as follows*, belongs to ἑμαθον. — ἐνδυνον . . . ἐνδυομένους (G. 199, N. 1): as they were putting on *their own armor*, the middle is more exact. — οἱ βάρβαροι is subject of ἐγίνοντο. — φανήσεσθαι (G. 203, N. 2).

38. μὴ . . . ἔσσι, *lest they might prove to be* (G. 218 ; 216, 2).

Page 183. — φεύγοντες (G. 279, 4, N.). — ἀρχήν, *originally*, i. e. on purpose to attack them. — παρσκευάδατο (G. 108, 4, I.). — οἱ δέ refers to Πέρσαι, the subject of the preceding clause: this is not an Attic usage (G. 143, 1).

39. ἦοι (G. 55, N. 1). — ἐπὶ, *besides* (G. 191, N. 2). — οὔτοι, the diviner and the deserters. — οὐκ ἔω, *forbade*.

40. οὐκ ἔχων (G. 203, N. 1), depends on λήγεται, by a change of construction (G. 260, 2, N. 1). — ἀρχήν: see § 38, above; ἀρχήν may often be translated *at all*, like Latin *omnino*. — τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι, *I am most strongly inclined to the opinion*: so πολλός εἰμι (see Liddell and Scott). — καλεῖσθαι (G. 203) depends on the phrase τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι. — αὐτῇ, intensive. — ἔχων (G. 203, N. 1). — ἀλείπτο, *awaited*. — οὐκ ἐξηλείφτο, *remained undiminished*.

41. γινέσθαι . . . ἀπολείσθαι: we should expect these to be in the future, on the principle of indirect discourse (G. 203); but verbs signifying to *give an oracle* are exceptional, probably because they imply a *command*. (See *Greek Moods and Tenses*, § 23, 1, N. 2). — “The notion which gave rise to this oracle seems to be the one, that in a dire extremity the anger of the deity was only to be propitiated by a most costly offering.” Blakesley. It was related that Leonidas, before he left Sparta, gave instructions to his wife Gorgo for her conduct in widowhood; and that “funeral games were performed, as over him, in his presence.”

Page 184. — (2.) Περσίδησι, *descendants of Perseus*: Herod. (VII. 61) says that the Persians received their name from Perseus, son of the Greek hero Perseus; a mere device to unite the two similar names. — (3.) τὸ μὲν οὐκί . . . δέ, *not this, but, &c.* — (4.) οἶρος (= ὄρος, *boundary*), *Sparta's bounds*. — (5.) τόν (G. 140), *him*, i. e. the invading Persian. — (7.) ἑτερον, *one or the other*. — δια-δάσσηται (v. δατέομαι or δαλομαι). — ἀποπέμψαι and οἰχεσθαι depend on τῇ γνώμῃ πλείστός εἰμι in § 40, being partly a repetition of καλεῖσθαι, &c. in that passage. All from μένοντι δέ (§ 40) through the oracle is a sort of parenthesis.

42. τὰ ἀνέκαθεν, *by descent*. — οὐκ ἀπελείπτο, *remained not behind*, i. e. *did not separate himself* from the army. Krüger.

43. Θηβαῖοι δέκοντες: as unwilling hostages, they could have been of little service; it is probable that this is the representation made afterwards by the Thebans, to reconcile themselves with the Persian conqueror. (See § 55.) Their politics were at this time “essentially double-faced and equivocal.” Grote. A later orator, confounding Thespians and Plataeans, says of the latter, that one half the adult citizens perished in the pass,

and the remainder fought in the Athenian fleet at Artemisium and Salamis. — οὐκ ἔφασαν, *said that they would not, &c.* — ἀπολιπόντες (G. 138, N. 8).

44. ἐς ἀγορῆς . . . πληθόρην, *until about full-market time, i. e. the last part of the forenoon, before μεσημβρία.*

Page 185. — χάρος, here = *space* to be passed over. — τὸ μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐφύλασσεντο refers to the fight of the two preceding days.

45. πολλοί refers to the Persians: but the subject changes suddenly at αὖτε γάρ. — τοῦ ἀπολλυμένου, *the dying.* — ῥάμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον, *their utmost strength; like ὅς μέγιστον expanded into ὡς (or ὅσον) ἰσχύοντο μέγιστον.* — παραχρεῖσθαι (sc. τοῖς σώμασιν), *making their lives of no value.* — ἀτίοντες, *reckless.* — κατεγόντα (v. κατ-άγνυμι). — οἱ δέ, referring to τοῖς πλείοσι, not Attic (see note on § 38, above).

46. γινόμενος, *having proved himself (not having been).* — τὰ ονόματα: the names of the 300 could still be read on a column in Sparta in the time of Pausanias, 600 years afterwards. — οἶκον, *his estate.* — ὡς εἰούσης gives the reason of Artanes himself.

Page 186. — τοῦτον ὑπεξέρυσαν, *rescued his body.* The bones of Leonidas were carried to Sparta forty years later, according to Pausanias; when the column just mentioned was erected. — τοῦτο συνστήκει, *this kind of battle continued.*

48. πλὴν Θηβαίων: see below, § 55. — λείων, with reference to the name Λεωνίδης. — τοῖσι . . . περιέσθαι, *such of them as happened still to have them (μάχαιραι) left.* — καὶ χροὶ καὶ στόμασι, as we say "tooth and nail," but of course with no comic idea. — ἐξ ἑναντίας, *in front.* — περισταδόν (adv. from stem of περίστυμι), *so as to surround them.*

49. πρὶν ἢ (G. 274, N.). — τοσοῦτο . . . εἶναι depends on ἔφη implied in what precedes. — τὸν δέ, *but he*, irregularly inserted, as if the sentence had not been introduced by the relative τόν, to which πυθόμενον belongs. — ὡς ἀγγέλλοι depends on the *past tense* εἶπεν (G. 203; 201, N. 2). — εἰ . . . ἔστοντο represents εἰ ἔσται in the direct form (G. 221, N.), *if it was to be (not if it should be).*

51. αὐτοῦ ταυτῇ τῇ περ ἔπεσον, *there (i. e. at Thermopylae), on the spot where they fell.* — σφί refers to the Spartans and Thespians. — πρότερον ἢ . . . οἰχέσθαι, like πρὶν ἢ in § 49: the subject of οἰχέσθαι is τοὺς συμμάχους understood, which is also implied (in the genitive) after τοῖς πρότερον τελευτήσασιν. — ἐπιγέγραπται: this verb applies especially to inscriptions, properly called ἐπιγράμματα (see below, after the inscriptions).

Page 187. — Πελοποννέσου: the Doric form, with *ā* for *η* (G. 30, 1). In the preceding verse, τῷδε and τριακοσίαις are sometimes substituted (on conjecture) for the Ionic forms of the MSS., which can hardly be correct. — χιλιάδες τέτορες: the number who *fought* (ἐμάχοντο), although Herodotus elsewhere speaks as if 4,000 *fell* (VIII. 25). The inscription refers only to those from Peloponnesus, who (according to § 18) amounted to 3,100. But

later writers speak of 700 or 1,000 Lacedaemonians *besides* the 300 Spartans, and these must be included, although Herodotus makes no mention of them. The whole question of the numbers at Thermopylae is much disputed. The stern simplicity of the second inscription has made it especially famous. — ἀγγέλλαν is used for the imperative (G. 269). — In the third inscription, Μερστιά is Doric genitive (G. 39); and οὐκ ἐτλη = *scorned* (Rawlinson). — ἔξω ἤ, *except*. — Σιμωνίδης: Simonides, the great lyric poet of Ceos, was often considered the author of all three epigrams. His still more famous ode on the heroes of Thermopylae (or perhaps only a fragment) is preserved by Diodorus: —

Τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις θανόντων  
 εὐκλεῆς μὲν ἂ τύχα, καλὸς δ' ὁ πόντος,  
 βωμὸς δ' ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόνων δὲ μῦστος, ὁ δ' οἶκτος ἔπαινος.  
 Ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐτ' εὐρώς  
 οὐδ' ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν.  
 Ὅ δὲ σαρὸς οἰκέταν εὐδοξίαν  
 Ἑλλάδος εἴλετο· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ Λεωνίδας  
 ὁ Σπάρτας βασιλεὺς, ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λελοιπῶς  
 κόσμον ἀνείων τε κλέος.

"Of those who at Thermopylae were slain,  
 Glorious the doom, and beautiful the lot;  
 Their tomb an altar: men from tears refrain,  
 To honor them; and praise, but mourn them not.  
 Such sepulchre nor drear decay  
 Nor all-destroying time shall waste; this right have they.  
 Within their grave the home-bred glory  
 Of Greece was laid; this witness gives  
 Leonidas the Spartan, in whose story  
 A wreath of famous virtue ever lives."

*Translated by STERLING.*

52. παρών = παρόν (G. 278, 2). — μεμετημένοι (see μετήμι in Cat. of Verbs). — οὐκ ἐθέλῃσαι depends on λέγεται in the first line. — τὸν εἰλωτα, his *Helot* servant: each Spartan soldier was entitled to be accompanied by seven *Helots*, and probably many of these fell in the first battles at Thermopylae, unmentioned by the historian (see, however, VIII. 25). — λαποψυχέοντα, (here) *faint-hearted*.

53. εἰ . . . ἦν, if it had been the case. — κομίδην, *return*: see κομίζεσθαι.

Page 156. — προστίθεαι ἄν (= προσθήτο ἄν) depends on λέγεται in § 52. — προφασίος (G. 171, 1).

54. *ἡτίμωτο*, *he was disgraced*, as the perfect *ἡτίμωται* means *he is disgraced*. — *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι*, i. e. at Plataea, in the following year (479 B. C.). — *ἀνέλαβε*, *he made up for*. — *ἐπενεχθείσαν* (v. *ἐπιφέρει*).

55. *ὡς . . . μηδίζουσι . . . ἀπικολάτο* (G. 243).

Page 189. — 56. *πλεῖνας* = *πλίονας*. — *σχόντα . . . Πλαταιέων*: this attack of the Thebans on Plataea was the first hostile act committed in the Peloponnesian War (431 B. C.).

57. *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, *truthfulness*. — *τὰς διεξόδους*, “*the ins and outs*.” — *οἱ α βασιλεὺς γενόμενος*, *since you were once their king*. (See notes on § 26, above.) The counsel of Demaratus (here omitted) was that Xerxes should occupy with part of his fleet the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, which would draw off the Spartans from the defence of the Isthmus, and put all Greece in his power. This wise counsel was overruled by the Persian Achaemenes. It was followed afterwards by the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian War.

58. *ἀποταμόντας*, sc. *τινάς*. — *δῆλα . . . γέγονε* (G. 135, 2). — *τῶν (= ον) . . . ἀνθρώπων* (G. 154, Note).

#### IV.

Page 190. — 1. *ναυτικὸν στρατόν*: the return of the Greek fleet from the Euripus to its position at Artemisium has been mentioned in III. § 11. After describing the battle of Thermopylae in the Seventh Book, Herodotus begins the Eighth Book with the sea-fight at Artemisium, which took place on the same three days with the battles at Thermopylae (see below, § 15). — *Πλαταιέες*: see I. §§ 11–13. — *πεντηκοντήρους*: these were vessels of the older style with fifty oars, all in one row; while the triremes, the more modern ships of war with three banks of oars, were specially called *νῆες*, sometimes *νῆες μακράς*.

2. *ἐν Ἀρτεμισίῳ* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἡγαιμονεύῃ*, *be commander-in-chief*.

3. *ἐς Σικελίην*: see II. § 39. — *εἰ στασιάζουσιν, ὡς ἀπολλέται* (G. 223, N. 1; 247). — *τοσοῦτω . . . ὅσῳ* (G. 188, 2).

Page 191. — *μέχρι . . . ἔδιδοντο*, *so long as they* (the Athenians) *were in extreme need of them* (the Peloponnesian allies): *μέχρι ὅσου* here = *ὅσον χρόνον*. The desertion of these allies, all of whom acknowledged the headship of Sparta, would have withdrawn 113 ships. — *περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου*, i. e. to liberate the Greeks in Asia Minor and the islands: this refers to the beginning of the Confederacy of Delos (about 477 B. C.). See notes, p. 31.

4. *Ἀφείας*: see III. § 12, above. — *παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἥ ὡς κατεδόκειον*, pleonastic for *otherwise than as they expected*, *παρὰ δόξαν* being more emphatic than the simple *ἐτέρως*. — *δρησιμόν*, *a retreat*, which would have betrayed the force at Thermopylae to destruction, besides leaving Euboea

unprotected against the Persian fleet. — *προσ-μῆναι* . . . χρόνον, *to wait a little longer*. — *Θεμιστοκλῆς*: Herodotus is writing after Themistocles had died in exile, when even his disinterested acts were liable to be suspected of corruption. But whatever we may think of his personal motives, we may easily believe that he used money furnished by the richer Euboeans in the way described in § 5. — *ἐπ' ᾧ* . . . ποιήσονται (G. 226, x. 2 and 3).

5. *ἐπισχάν* (G. 265). — *ἤσπαιρε*, *struggled*, i. e. *resisted*. — *ἀπολιπόντι* represents *ἐὶ ἀπολίποναι*, as protasis to *πέμψαι ἄν* (G. 226, 1). — *ἡπιστάτο*, imperfect, *supposed* (G. 126, 5; 119, 3): cf. *ἐδυνάτο* above, III. § 30.

Page 192. — 6. *ἐὰν πως θύοιεν* (G. 226, 4, x. 1), *in case they should capture them*, i. e. *to capture them if they could*. — *καταλάβοι, should close in about them* (and save them), — an unusual meaning. — *καὶ ἑμῶν δῆθεν* . . . *παριγινέσθαι, and they were likely (as the Persians thought, δῆθεν) to make their escape* (i. e. if their flight was not hindered); *whereas* (δῆ), *according to their* (the Persians') *talk, not even a torch-bearer was to come off alive*. The torch-bearer in an army or fleet kept alive the sacred fire which was brought from home, and his person was held sacred. His fall, therefore, implied the utter annihilation of the whole army. It was a common saying that "not even a torch-bearer escaped" (*οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλεῖσθαι*), implying utter destruction.

7. *πρὸς ταῦτα ἄν*: this corresponds to *ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6, taking the place of a clause with *δὲ* — *ὡς ἄν* (G. 216, 1, x. 2). — *οἱ μὲν*, i. e. those who sailed round Euboea; *σφέας δὲ, and they*, i. e. the main force; both in apposition with the subject of *περιλάβοιεν*. — *ἐξ ἑναντίας*, *in front*, like *ἐκ τῆς ἀντίης* in § 6. — *τὰς ταχέσσας*, i. e. the two hundred.

8. *αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο, got for himself*. — *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οἱ παρίσχε ὡς τότε, but [had not done so], for he had never had [such] an opportunity as then*. — *ἔτι, at length*.

Page 193. — *ἐν ὀγδόκοντα*: a swim of about nine miles! This is matched by another later story, that, during the storm at Sepias, the same man with the help of his daughter (also a diver) destroyed many Persian ships by diving down and loosening their anchors.

9. *ἀποδεδέχθαι, v. ἀποδέκνυμι* (G. 202, 2, x. 1). — *ὡς γίνοιτο, that it had taken place* (G. 248).

10. *ἐπενεύσαντες, ascribing or imputing*. — *καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, resolved on this*; *καταφρονεῖν* has this rare sense only in Ionic Greek. — *ἐς μέσον* implies that they hoped to get the Greeks *into the circle* which they were about to make. — *ἐπιστάμενοι, feeling sure*. — *ἀπονοστήσει, would return safe*. — *ἡδομένοισι ἦν* (G. 184, 3, x. 5). — *ὅπως . . . λάμψεται* depends on the idea of *striving in ἀμύλλαν ἐποιεῖντο* (G. 217).

Page 194. — 11. *ὡς ἐσήμηνε, when the signal was given* (G. 184, x. 1 d). — *ἐς τὸ μέσον*: the sterns were brought together as the prows were turned toward the enemy on every side. — *ἔργου εἶχοντο, held to the work*. — *κατὰ*

στόμα, *beak to beak*. — Σαλαμινίων : the Salamis in Cyprus is meant ; but ἐν Σαλαμῖνι below refers to the island near Athens.

12. μέσον θύρος, *nidsummer* : τῆς ὥρης is partitive genitive. The battles of Thermopylae and Artemisium took place in July, 480 B. C. — καπιστήατο, imperfect, = καθίσταντο. — ἀπλίζοντες, *apprehending*. — ἐς οἷα = ὅτι ἐς τοιαῦτα, causal relative (G. 238). — βέματα ἰσχυρά, *swollen torrents*.

Page 195. — 13. ὅκως ἄν (G. 216, 1, N. 2). — τὰ Κοῖλα, *the Hollows* of Euboea are probably on the southwest side, opposite Attica.

14. ἐπεβόθειον, *came as reinforcement* : these 53 ships, added to those mentioned in § 1, raised the Athenian fleet to the full number of 200. — τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, *the same time of day* (see § 9, above).

15. σφί λυμαινέσθαι, *should harass them* (G. 184, 2). — τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω, *what Xerxes might do*. — οἱ μὲν refers to the Greeks both at Thermopylae and at Artemisium ; οἱ δὲ to the Persians at both places : πόρου refers to the passage by sea and that by land. — ὅκως κρατήσουσι (G. 217, N. 2).

Page 196. — 16. παραπλήσιοι, *equally matched*, not in numbers, but as is explained in the next sentence. — αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἐωντοῦ ἐπιπαι : a Corinthian speaker in Thucyd. I. 69 speaks of the armament of Xerxes as αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ σφαλίντα. — τράπεσθαι (Ionic present passive), in apposition with χρήμα.

17. παλήσειε, *should suffer* : cf. ἦν τι καταλαμβάνη (G. 248). — σημαίνειν depends on προσετέτακτο and also on ἵτοιμον. — ἐς ἀναβολάς, *with delay*. The fleet had suffered so severely in the engagements, — half of the Athenian ships being disabled, — that it had already determined to withdraw ; and, by advice of Themistocles, the Greeks were slaughtering the cattle of the Euboeans for their own supplies.

18. περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, i. e. on the northern shore of Euboea, where the Persians would land for drinking-water. — ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας : Attica was called the parent city of the Ionians in Asia Minor. — μάλιστα μὲν, *best of all*. — ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἔισθε (G. 184, 3, N. 6), i. e. *be neutral*.

Page 197. — καὶ αὐτοί, opposed to τῶν Καρῶν. — ἡ ἔχθρη . . . γέγονε : i. e. in the assistance given by Athens in the Ionic revolt. — βασιλῆα, object of λαθόντα. — ἐπεῖτε ἀνεναχθῇ : Herodotus occasionally omits ἄν in this construction, contrary to the usage in Attic prose (G. 234 ; 223, N. 2). — διαβληθῇ (sc. τὰ γράμματα), *should be misrepresented* (G. 248, N.).

In the interval which follows, Xerxes is said to have brought the soldiers of his fleet to Thermopylae, that they might view the Grecian dead, — concealing the trenches where 20,000 of his own dead lay buried, — “truly a laughable device,” says Herodotus, “which deceived nobody ; on one side a thousand men lying about the field [as if these were all the Persians had lost], and on the other four thousand crowded together into one spot.” He is also related to have asked of some Arcadian deserters what the Greeks were doing. “Holding the Olympic games,” was the reply, and “seeing



wrestling and chariot-races." "And for what prize?" he asked. "An olive-wreath to the winner." Upon which a Persian officer exclaimed, "What men are these against whom we are brought out to fight?—men who contend with one another for honor, and not for gain!" At this time, too, the Thessalians (who had an old border-feud with the Phocians) sent a messenger into Phocis, offering, for a ransom of fifty talents, to save the district from being ravaged by the Persians: to which the Phocians replied, that they were free as the Thessalians to make friends with the Medes, if they chose; but they would never of their own will be traitors to the liberties of Greece. This heroic answer greatly endeared them in later times to the Athenians; but the opinion of Herodotus was, that their ancient hate would have led them to choose the side opposite to the Thessalians, whichever that had been.

19. ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα: it is strange that Herodotus represents the whole army of Xerxes as marching into Boeotia by the road which leads through Doris and Central Phocis by the valley of the Cephissus, — a road which, by crossing a mountain ridge, avoided the pass of Thermopylae altogether. Stein remarks, that probably a part of the army at least passed through Thermopylae and took the upper road, which appears from the names of towns on that route which were burned by the Persians. This road also would be the only one practicable for the cavalry. — ποδῶν, *footlet or spur* (see Lexicon). — ἡ παρ refers to Doris. — μητρόπολις, i. e. the starting-place of the Dorian emigration: the earlier home of the race was in Thessaly. — οὐκ ἴδμεν, i. e. the Thessalians advised against it.

20. ἡ κορυφή, the name Tithorea was given to one of the summits in the mass of mountains called Parnassus: the place here mentioned was probably a natural fortress described by Plutarch (Sull. 15), below the highest peak of Tithorea; the present Velitza. — κατὰ Νέωνα, *at (or above) Neon*. — καμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, *lying by itself*, i. e. a solitary peak. — ἀνηνέκαντο, *understand their possessions*.

21. Παραποταμίους, "*Riverside*," a town and people of the same name on the Cephissus.

Page 198. — τὰς δὲ πόλεις . . . ἱσχυόν, *were protecting their cities*, i. e. when the Persians entered Boeotia.

23. εἰτε . . . κατορύξωσι, (G. 244): the direct question being *κατορύξωμεν; shall we bury them?* (G. 256). — αὐτός before εἶναι is adjective (G. 138, N. 8). — πέρι (G. 191, N. 4). — πέραν, i. e. across the Gulf of Corinth. — Κορύκειον ἄντρον, the Corycian cave, sacred to Pan and the nymphs, was high above Delphi, in the side of one of the heights of Parnassus. It is described as about 300 feet deep, 40 feet high, and abounding in stalactites.

Page 199. — 24. ἀπάρεον, *were in sight of*. — Προνητῆς, a title of the Delphian Athena (Attic Προναία), who was so called because her temple stood on the way leading to the great temple of Apollo, being thus *before*

the temple (πρὸ ναοῦ). — διὰ πάντων, *above all*: διὰ has occasionally (in Herodotus as in the poets, not in Attic writers) a meaning of *pre-eminence, of going through or beyond*.

25. δύο κορυφαί (G. 138, N. 6), great masses of rock detached from the mountain and thrown down, probably, by the defenders: many such fragments are now to be seen in the pass. — ἰσθὺς Βουαίων (G. 182, 2). — μέγας ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπων φύσιν, *of more than human stature*: ἔχοντας cannot be correct here unless there is some error in the preceding words.

26. τοῖς and δύο belong to ἥρωας. — τῆς Κασταλλίης, the famous fountain of Castalia, which flows from the cleft between the two lofty peaks, the Φαειριάδες, which overhang Delphi. One of these peaks was called Hyampeia. These two peaks above Delphi have caused the idea that the chief peak of Parnassus, Lycoreia, has a double crest.

Page 200. — 27. τὸ ποιητίον = δ ποιητίον, as indirect question. — ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι (v. καθ-ήκω) πρήγμασι, *on the circumstances that had arisen (or come in)*, like the Attic τὰ καθιστώτα. — τῶν . . οὐδέν, *nothing of the kind*. — οἱ δέ, the Athenians: see note on III. § 38, above. — ἀπέναι (v. ἀφίημι) depends irregularly on ἐπυνθάνοντο, which takes the participle ταχέοντας regularly (G. 280).

28. Ἀθηναίων τῇ τιμῇ δύναται σώζειν, for Ἀθηναίων τιμῇ τῇ (= ᾧ) δύνανται σώζειν. — ἐς Τροίηνα: Troezen, on the Argolic coast, was a seafaring place, sacred to Poseidon, and inhabited by an Ionic people kindred to the Athenians. It deserves to be remembered to the honor of the Troezenians, that they received the Athenian exiles "with eager good-will," and "passed a vote that they should be maintained at the public charge by a daily payment of two obols to every one, and leave be given to the children to gather fruit where they pleased, and schoolmasters paid to instruct them." (Plutarch, Them. 10.) — τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, that with reference to the "wooden walls." — ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, in the temple of Athena Polias, which formed part of the Erechtheum on the Acropolis of Athens. Here was preserved the olive-wood statue of the Goddess, which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and which was decorated with the costly *peplus* at the great Panathenaic festival. — ὡς ἔόντι, i. e. to the serpent as *actually existing*, implying some doubt of his reality on the historian's part. — ἐπιμήνια, *monthly food-offerings*. — ὡς . . ἀπολελοιπούης: it was a common ancient belief, that a city could not be taken or destroyed unless first forsaken by its divinity. Thus the Romans had a formula for summoning forth the Gods of the cities they were about to attack; while the true name of Rome and that of its tutelary divinity were said to be kept as a mystery, lest they should become known to an enemy who might thus disarm the city of its protector. (See Macrobius, Sat. III. 9.)

Page 201. — 30. προθέντος (for the more common λόγον προθέντος), *having given notice*, the usual formula for opening a debate. — τῶν (= ὧν) χωρίων, by attraction for ἔκου χωρίων τῶν ἐγκαταίης εἰσὶ, in which of the places they were themselves masters of. — ἐπιλέγοντες, as if ἐλεγον or ἐγνωσαν

had preceded. — *ἴνα, where.* — *πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ,* supply *έσσης* from the clause with *μέν*.

31. *ἦκειν, had* (already) *come* (G. 200, N. 3); but *πυρπολίεσθαι* (regular present), *was burning*: so with *ἦκε* and *έδηλον* below.

Page 202. — 32. *τρισὶ μῆσι*: it was now September, B. C. 480, on the 20th of which the battle of Salamis was fought. — *ἄρχοντας, being Archon,* i. e. Eponymus for the year: see note on Xen. Hell. 2, III. 1. — *τὸ ἄστυ, the city proper,* all within the circuit of the walls. — *ταμίαι, stewards,* having charge of the temple-treasures.

33. *Ἀρτίον πάγον, the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill.* — *δὲκας . . . ἔφασαν* (G. 233). — *ἐπέδεκοντο, did they entertain them,* i. e. the proposals of the exiled family of Pisistratus.

34. *ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων*: *ἀπορα* is used like *ἀπορία*. — *ἐμπροσθε*: the north side of the Acropolis is still sometimes called *the front*; the gateway and the only entrance are on the west side. — *ἡλπίσει* has here so much force of *apprehension* that it takes *μή* and the optative like *έφοβήθη* (G. 218): for *ἡλπίσει ἄν,* see G. 226, 2. — *ἱδὸν . . . Ἀγλαύρου*: the Aglaurium, a sanctuary which commemorated the place where Aglaurus, daughter of Cecrops, was said to have thrown herself from the Acropolis.

Page 203. — *πρὸς τὰς πύλας, the gates of the temple, in the precincts* of which they had ascended.

35. *Ἀρταβάνῳ*: an uncle of Xerxes, who had been left in chief authority at the Persian capital, although he had attempted to dissuade Xerxes from his expedition against Greece.

36. *γῆγενίος, born of the Earth*: see II. II. 548, *τέκε δὲ γαῖαρος ἄρουρα*. The temple of Erechtheus was one of the three temples united in the building commonly called the Erechtheum; a second was the temple of Athena Polias (see note on § 28, above); the third was the Pandroseum, which contained the sacred olive-tree planted by Athena, and the salt spring (*θάλασσα*) made by the stroke of Poseidon's trident. These were *proofs* (*μαρτύρια*) offered by the rival deities in their famous contest for the possession of Athens, which was represented by Phidias in the group of statues on the western pediment of the Parthenon. — *ὅσον τε, about,* like *ὥς* with words denoting number or size: the *τέ* is a poetic addition (not Attic) allowed by Herodotus (G. 151, N. 4).

37. *κυρωθῆναι* depends on *έμενον*, which sometimes takes the infinitive in the sense of *waiting* for something to be done. — *πρήγμα, subject of discussion* (see § 30, above).

Page 204. — *καὶ οἱ* (G. 151, N. 3).

38. *περὶ οὐδεμιῆς . . . ναυμαχίσεως, i. e. you will no longer have any country to fight for* (for *οὐ* . . . *οὐδεμιῆς*, see G. 283, 9). — *μή οὐ* (G. 283, 7). — *ἀναγνώσει, to prevail upon*: this meaning of *ἀναγνώσκω* is not found in Attic.

39. *συμμιξαί*, *communicare*. — *ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενος*, *making* (or *representing*) *them as his own*.

40. *τῶν ἐνεκεν* (relative), = *τούτων ὧν*, &c.: *τούτων* depending on *λόγον*. — *πολλὰς*, *frequent* or *urgent*; i. e. *he had much to say*. — *ἀπολυνόμενος*, *in his defence*, *sese purgans*. — *οἱ ἔγκαταλειπόμενοι*, *they who do not enter the lists*.

Page 205. — 41. *ἀναζεύξῃς*, *break up, move off*; lit. *yoke up*, used properly of moving by land. — *ἀναπεπταμένῃ*, *open* (as a bird with its wings spread), in contrast with the narrow waters at Salamis. — *ἐς τό* (relative), supply *ἀνάγειν* or some similar verb. — *βαρυντέρας* (if correct) must mean *heavier* in movement, not *larger*. — *σφέας*, the Persians. — *κινδυνεύσεις* . . . Ἑλλάδι: compare *κινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ*, in III. 27.

42. *τοσάδε*, *the following* (G. 148, N. 1). — *πρὸς ἡμῶν*, *for our advantage*. — *ἐς τήν* (G. 191, N. 6). — *ἐν αὐτοῖσι* (as above), i. e. *in what I propose*. — *μένων* = *ἦν μένης* (G. 226, 1).

43. *περιοῦσι*: cf. *περίγινεται* in § 42. — *λόγιον* refers to the oracle, II. § 35. — *οἰκότα* is object of *βουλευομένοισι*, and is also understood as subject of *ἰθὺλα*, which here is used like *φιλεῖ* = *solet*. — *βουλευομένοισι* before *οὐκ ἰθὺλα* is *dat. commodi*, i. e. *for their sake*.

Page 206. — *προσχωρίαν* . . . *γνώμας*, *conform (go over) to human ideas*.

44. *τῷ μὴ ἔστι* (G. 238): *μή* shows that there is a conditional as well as a causal force in the relative clause. — *ἐπιψηφίζαν ἀπὸλι ἄνδρϊ*, *to put a question to vote for* (i. e. *on the motion of*) *a man without a country*. — *οὕτω συμβάλλεσθαι*, *then* (i. e. *after declaring his country*) *to join in proposing opinions*. — *ἑαυτοῖσι*, *to himself and his fellow-citizens*. — *ἔστί ἂν*, *so long as*: the subjunctive in the direct discourse depends on *ἔστί* (here changed to *εἴη*), which has a future (as well as present) sense; the idea being, *we can certainly be said to have a country, so long as we have 200 ships to show*.

45. *ἐπιστραμμένα* (v. *ἐπιστρέφω*), *pressing, emphatic*. — *εἰ μινείας καὶ ἔσται*: the apodosis is suppressed, *it will be well*. — *τὸ πᾶν* . . . *φέρουσι*, i. e. *with them rests the whole fortune of war*. — *οἰκέτας*, (here) *our households*. — *Σίριν*, a town near Sybaris in Southern Italy. — *καὶ* . . . *αὐτήν*, *and which* (G. 156): a relative is seldom repeated in a new case, but a personal or demonstrative takes its place.

46. *δοκίαν*, used absolutely (G. 268). — *μή* . . . *ἀπολίπωσι* (G. 218; 216, 2). — *οὐκίτι* belongs to *ἀξιόμαχοι*. — *οἱ περὶ Σαλαμίνα* (G. 141, N. 3): *ἀκροβολισάμενοι*, *after skirmishing*.

Page 207. — *Αἰακίδας*: among the descendants of Aeacus were Peleus and his son Achilles. It is not to be supposed that the ship was sent for images of these heroes; but it was believed that they would come in person, though unseen, to help the Greeks.

47. *Δημαρήτω*: see note on III. § 57. — *Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ*, between Parnes and Eleusis. — *ὅτεάν κοτε εἴη*, indirect question, like *ὅ τι εἴη* (below). — *πρόκατε* (= *πρόκα τε*), *suddenly, all at once*. — *ἱαχον*, the song sung by

the procession of the initiated (*μύσται* or *μεινυμένοι*) as they marched along the Sacred Way from Athens to the temple at Eleusis at the annual festival of Demeter: the name comes from the frequent recurrence of the verse *Ἰαχχ', ὦ Ἰαχχε*, in which Dionysus (or Bacchus) was invoked under the name of Iacchus.

48. *αὐτός* belongs to the omitted subject of *εἶπαι* (see G. 138, n. 8): *ἔφη* is still understood. — *ἐρήμου ἐούσης*, causal. — *Μητρί καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ*, to Demeter (the Earth-mother or Ceres) and Core (the Daughter, Proserpine or Persephone; *Κόρη*, Ionic *Κοῦρη*). — *μνείται*, is initiated: the term probably refers to the candidates for initiation having their eyes closed or covered. — *τὴν φωνήν* (G. 159).

Page 208. — 49. *οὐδέ τις*, *ne unus quidem*, more emphatic than the simple *οὐδεὶς*. — *ἐκ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ*, *after the dust*. — *ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος*, *towards Salamis*; but *ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον*, *into the camp*. — *καταπτόμενος*, *calling to witness*; properly used of *clinging* to the image of a God who is invoked.

50. *θηησάμενοι*: see note after § 18, above. — *Φαλήρῃ*, the old port of Athens; see map, and note on Xen. Hell. ii. 4, 11.

Herodotus now describes a discussion (here omitted), in which an immediate attack on the Greek fleet at Salamis was urged by all the Persian commanders except Artemisia, the queen of Halicarnassus. She advised distracting the Greeks by threatening various parts of their coast with attack. But her counsel seemed timid and slow, and was overruled by the majority, whom Xerxes followed. Herodotus also remarks, that the army and navy of Xerxes, when they reached Attica, were as numerous as they had been before the storm at Sepias and the battles at Artemisium and Thermopylae, the losses being made up by accessions from the Greeks. This, however, may well be questioned.

The movement mentioned in the words *ἀνήγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα*, seems to have consisted in sailing across to some position southeast of Salamis, from which an attack could be made the next day on the Athenian fleet, which was lying in the Bay of Salamis (on the east side of the island). — *ὅτι . . . μέλλουσιν* (G. 250, n.).

51. *ἐπορεύετο*, *began its march*. — *συγχώσαντες*, *having destroyed (dug away)*: the road along the shore from Megara to Corinth is here artificially made on the steep side of the Scironian cliff (*Σκιρωνίδες*), and it is still rendered impassable by an ordinary rain-storm. This is the place at which the robber Sciron kicked travellers into the sea, until he was himself served in the same way by Theseus. (He has resumed his old business in later years, and a new Theseus is sadly needed there.)

Page 209. — *φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεις*, *gabions*.

52. *περὶ τοῦ παντὸς δρόμον θέοντες*, *running a race for the whole*, i. e. *having everything at stake*. — *ἄνθρωπος ἄνδρὶ παραστάς*, *each man with his neighbor*. — *τέλος* (G. 160, 2). — *ἔκρηγαν*, the excitement broke out (like a storm). — *οἱ μὲν*, as if *πολλοὶ* *διεγον* preceded; to this corresponds *Ἄθη-*

ναίτοι δέ, &c. — ἀμύνεσθαι depends on some word like κελύοντες understood with Ἀθηναίτοι, &c.

53. λαθόν, *secretly*. — ἐπεδίκοντο πολίτας: after the great losses sustained at Thermopylae and later at Plataea, Thespiae was obliged to admit new citizens. This Sicinnus was an Asiatic by birth, and probably spoke Persian. — λάθρη = λάθρῃ (G. 182, 2). — φρονίων τὰ βασιλῆος, *favoring the King's cause*. — παρίχα, *affords you an opportunity*.

Page 210. — περιβητε διαδράντας, *allow to escape*: notice the tense of the participle (G. 279, 3). — πρὸς ἑαυτούς, *against each other* (G. 146, N. 3).

The first object of Themistocles was certainly to make a retreat of the Greek fleet impossible, as he believed that thus only could the progress of Xerxes be checked. He also wished to divert the attention of the Persian commanders from their original plan of attack to an entirely new one of cutting off a retreat, thus making them careless at the critical moment, and perhaps inducing them to divide their fleet. It can hardly be doubted, however, that here — as in his later stratagem (§ 85) — he had a crafty scheme for “laying up treasure” (ἀποθήκην μίλλων ποιήσεσθαι, § 84) with the King, in case the Greek cause should fail or he himself (as actually happened) should be driven to seek the protection of Persia.

54. τοῦτο δέ, *secondly*. — ἀνήγον . . . Σαλαμίνα, *they brought their west wing up to Salamis, sailing round the island (or surrounding the island, i. e. with ships stationed at important points)*. This refers to the ships which formed the west wing as they were stationed the evening before the battle (see note on § 50). — οἱ ἀμφὶ . . . Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, *those who had been stationed about Ceos and Cynosura*: it is now generally agreed that this Cynosura must be some point of Salamis, and not the Cynosura of the bay of Marathon. The word (lit. *dog's tail*) means simply a *long point of land*, and the eastern point of Salamis suits the description better than any other. Ceos must be some place or point in the immediate neighborhood. — κατεχον . . . πορθμόν: the ships just mentioned, which were lying off Cynosura at nightfall, now advanced and blockaded the channel between Salamis and the peninsula of Piraeus (in which is Munychia). — ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσίων (cf. πολλοὺς τῶν Περσίων, above), *sc. τινάς* (G. 170, 1). — ὡς . . . ἔξωσομένων, *because (they thought) both the men and the wrecks would be especially likely to be brought ashore here*. — ἐν πόρῃ, &c., i. e. *in the passage where the battle was to be fought*.

The description of Herodotus, thus interpreted, agrees in all essential points with that of Aeschylus. The great tragedian, who had fought in the Athenian ranks of Marathon, was also in the battle of Salamis. It is to be assumed that no account of the position of the Persian fleet on that eventful morning can be correct, which does not agree with his description in the “Persians.” This tragedy, exhibited in Athens in 472 B. C., contains a graphic account of the battle, which a messenger, just arrived at the Persian court from Salamis, narrates to Queen Atossa, the mother of

**Xerxes.** The three principal points mentioned by Herodotus in § 54 are prominent in Aeschylus. The landing of Persian troops on Psyttaleia, and their slaughter, are made a most important part of the story (see note on § 75). The stratagem of Themistocles is mentioned as the chief cause of the Persian defeat. In consequence of this, Xerxes first orders a triple line of ships "to guard the passage out and the roaring straits" (i. e. the southern entrance of the straits of Salamis); then "others" ("to guard," or "to sail") in a circle round the isle of Ajax" (i. e. Salamis). The former are the ships described by Herodotus as holding "all the channel as far as Munychia"; the latter must be "the west wing," which the Persians bring round to Salamis (κυκλούμενοι). This last is made clearer by the statement of Diodorus, that Xerxes sent round the Egyptian ships to blockade the passage between the northwest point of Salamis and the mainland of Megara. This is the movement to which Aristides refers in § 58. We may suppose that other ships were placed at other points around Salamis, where they would be of service if the Greeks made their expected attempt to escape by night. Aeschylus then describes the disappointment of the Persians when no signs of flight appeared; and their consternation, at break of day, when, as the sun rose, they heard the solemn paean — the war-cry of the Greeks — and the blast of the trumpet echo from the hills of Salamis. He represents the attack as begun by a Greek ship. The battle seems to have been fought chiefly within the straits, so that the Persian right extended towards Eleusis, and their left towards Piraeus (§ 62). The Persians probably advanced in line from the open sea into the narrows, where they were soon thrown into confusion from want of room. Aeschylus speaks of the *stream* (ῥεύμα) of the Persian fleet, which probably refers to their mode of entering the straits. The Persians were so soon thrown into confusion, that the fight must have rapidly lost its regularity, and probably no systematic plan of the Greek commander was carried out. This explains the confused accounts which we have of the progress of the battle, as to which Herodotus (§ 64) confesses himself unable to give details.

The battle of Salamis was fought on the 20th of September, 480 B. C.

55. *συνεστηκότων*, in conflict (see note on II. § 36, above). — 'Αριστέδης: Aristides, who had been one of the generals at Marathon, was banished from Athens by ostracism (see Dict. of Antiquities) in 482 B. C.; but his sentence had been revoked since the invasion of Xerxes had begun, on the motion of Themistocles, his bitter enemy and rival. Recalled too late to return to Athens, he thus joined the Athenians in their camp at Salamis the night before the eventful battle, bringing news of the movement of the Persians which was most welcome to Themistocles.

Page 211. — 56. *περὶ τοῦ, &c., on the question, &c.* — *ἴσον ἔστί*, it is all one. — *Πελοποννησίοισι* is to be joined with *ἀποπλόου*.

57. *ἐξ ἐμέο*, at my instigation. — *παραστήσασθαι*, to bring them over, i. e. to my opinion. — *ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων . . . ταῦτα*, because (as they will say) the barbarians are not really doing this (G. 277, N. 2).

58. ἦσαν καὶ ἐκπλῶσαι, indirect discourse for ἦσαν καὶ ἐξέπλωσαι. — τοὺς ἐπιορμίσοντας shows that the sea between Salamis and Aegina was occupied during the night by part of the Persian fleet (see note on § 54).

Page 212. — ἐπέθοντο here takes the accusative, as in II. § 34.

59. ἐς τὸν τρίποδα: this tripod was erected after the battle of Plataea. A portion of the pedestal, 16 feet high, is now in Constantinople; and the names of the states which "overthrew the Barbarian" (including the Tenians) are still to be read in the Doric inscription. (See Rawlinson's Herodotus, IV. p. 395.) — τῇ Δημνίῃ: see § 11, above. — κατίδαι, supply τὸ ναυτικόν.

60. τῶν Τηρέων is adnominal genitive with βήματα where we should expect ἐπὶ and the genitive with λεγόμενα. — καὶ οἱ (G. 151, N. 3) . . . ποιησάμενοι, used irregularly for the genitive absolute, as if other speakers besides Themistocles were to be mentioned in apposition. — ἐπιβάταιων, *marines, fighting men on a ship*, as opposed to sailors and rowers: ἐπιβάτης originally means any one who *embarks* (ἐπιβαίνει); see below, § 89. — προηγόρευε εἰς ἔχοντα ἐκ πάντων, i. e. *made the best speech of all*. — τὰ δὲ ἔκτα . . . ἀντιτιθέμενα, and his words throughout contrasted things nobler with things baser. — ὅσα refers to τούτων. — καταστάσι, *constitution*. — καταπλῆσαι, *having brought to an end*. — τριήρης: see § 46, above. — ἀνήγον, *got under way*, i. e. *began to advance*: in the next line, the middle is used in the same way, without νέας.

61. ἐκείναι, *were close upon them*. — ἐπὶ πτόμενῃ ἀνακροῦσθαι (also without ἐπὶ) is *to back water*: the statement is, that most of the ships at first backed water and were on the point of running ashore on the island behind them. — ἐξαναχθεῖς, *advancing from the line*. Ameinias is said to have been a brother of Aeschylus; another brother, Cynegirus, fell at Marathon (I. § 20). — φανείσαν agrees with γυναῖκα implied in the preceding accusative.

Page 213. — ἀνακροῦσθε (G. 200, N. 7).

62. κατὰ, *opposed to*. — πρὸς ἐσπέρης and πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ here are north-west and southeast; Eleusis and the Piræus giving the general direction of the Persian line. — Θημιστοκλῆος ἱππολῆς; see § 18, above. — χρήσασθαι . . . οὐδέν (G. 188, 1, N. 2). — εὐεργέτης ἀνεγράφη: "*Recording the name is repeatedly spoken of in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia as the highest object of man's ambition*. See Esther vi. 1." (Rawlinson.)

63. τῶν νεῶν, i. e. Persian, as τούτους refers to certain Persians. — ἐμelle . . . συνοίσεσθαι, *the result was bound to be such, &c.* — ἦσαν καὶ ἐγέγονον, *were and proved themselves*. — αἱ τοὶ ἑαυτῶν, *compared with themselves* (i. e. at other times): the comparative here takes two constructions, a genitive and a clause with ἤ, the former being inserted merely for emphasis.

64. μετεγέρους, *individuals*. — Ἀρτεμισίην: as Artemisia was queen



of Halicarnassus, the birthplace of Herodotus, he makes more special mention of her. (See also note on § 50, above.) — καὶ ἤ: see below.

Page 214. — ὑποσχεθεὶς γὰρ: the clause introduced by γὰρ ends with ἔδωκε, after which ἔβλεψέ οἱ, *it pleased her*, irregularly takes the place of a personal verb belonging to καὶ ἤ. — πρὸς . . . μάλιστα, *close upon*. — τὸ καὶ συνήνεκε, *which succeeded too*: see § 66, below. — φέρουσα, *bearing down*. — ἀνδρῶν τε . . . καὶ: this implies that the ship was *not only* (τέ) manned by Calyndians, *but also* (καὶ) bore the king (ῖ) of Calynda (a Carian town): ἐπιπλώοντος is genitive absolute.

65. εἰ μὲν καὶ τι . . . ἐγγόνει, *even if we admit that she had had some quarrel with him, still, &c.* — μέντοι is used like δέ in apodosis (G. 227, 2). — παραπεισθεῖσα: Herodotus used συγκυρέω (as well as συμπίπτω) with the participle, like τυγχάνω in Attic (G. 279, 4).

66. ἀπὸ τούτων, *by what she had done* (not especially κακόν). — καὶ τόν (G. 143, 2): so καὶ τοῦς. — φάσαι, *assented* (imperfect). — ἐπισταμένους, *recognizing*; but ἠπιστάτο, *believed* (wrongly). — αὐτῇ συνήνεκε, *proved fortunate for her* (Krtiger), as in § 64, above; γινόμενα being causal: but συνήνεκε may perhaps be taken with γινόμενα, *happened to result fortunately*, like συνεκέρησε in § 65 (we have, however, συνήνεκε γενέσθαι in § 66). — καὶ τὸ . . . γενέσθαι, *and especially the circumstance, that, &c.*, referring to τὰ τε ἄλλα. — γιγνάσκει μοι (G. 184, 3, N. 6).

67. ἀπὸ δέ (sc. ἔθανον) = ἀπὲθανον.

Page 215. — ἐν χειρὶν νόμῳ, *in the hand-to-hand conflict*. — ἀποδεξιόμενοι here belongs to ἀποδεκνύμε, as ἀποδεξιόμενοι in II. § 17: see note on I. § 6.

68. ὡς . . . ἀπολοῖσθαι (G. 122, 2), i. e. that the collision was not accidental. — ὡς προδόντων, sc. τῶν Ἰώνων, *because (as the Phoenicians charged, ὡς) they had been traitors*: the genitive absolute is more emphatic than the simpler ὡς προδόντας would have been. — τοιόνδε, *as follows*. — καταδίδετο . . . κατίδυσσε: notice the difference in the voice and the tense. — τῆς καταδυσσάσης νέος, *the ship which had sunk them*. — ἔσχον, *took possession* (not *had or held*).

69. ἐκείνου, sc. τινός as subject of ἀποταμῆν. — αὐτοί refers to the Phoenicians generally, who were to be taught a lesson. — ὅπως . . . ἴδω, *whenever he saw* (G. 233). — ἐπὶ, *at the foot of*: the eminence on which Xerxes sat during the battle is low compared with the higher mountain of which it is a projection. — πατρώθεν, i. e. adding his father's name to his own, in the Athenian style. — προσέβλεπτο . . . πάθος, i. e. *he contributed somewhat* (τι) *to this disaster of the Phoenicians* (G. 170). — φίλος ἴδω, sc. τοῖς Ἴωνι.

Page 216. — 70. ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ, between Psyttaleia and the Piræus. The battle was fought between Salamis and the mainland, so that this remote position of the Aeginetans could still be called *in the channel*; hence ἐκκλησίων and ἐκκλησιόστας.

71. *διέκουσα νῆα*, (sc. *πολεμὴν*). — *τὴν προφυλάσσουσάν ἐπὶ Σκιῶν*: see note on III. § 5. — *κατακοπέντα*, *badly mangled, cut up*. — *τῆς στρατηγίδος*, *the flag-ship* (of Themistocles). — *ἐς τὸν μηδισμὸν* refers to the charges made against the Aeginetans before the battle of Marathon: see I. § 3. — *ἐπὶ*, *to the protection of*.

72. *ἤκουσαν ἀριστα*, *gained the greatest glory*: *εὖ* (or *κακῶς*) *ἔκοιταν* = *bene* (or *male*) *audire*. — *Ἀρτεμισίην*: see § 65, and note on § 64. — *πρότερον ἢ εἶλε* = *πρὶν εἶλε*, *before he had captured*, *priusquam cepisset* (G. 240, 1; 232, 2). — *ἢ* after *μὲν* = *or*. — *ὅς ἂν εἴη*, [to anybody] *who should take her alive* (G. 248). — *γυναικα*: so Demosthenes afterwards resented the Athenians' fear of the later queen Artemisia of Caria (the builder of the Mausoleum), calling her *βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα*, *a barbarian, and a woman at that*.

Page 217. — *ἦσαν δὲ . . . Φαλήρῃ* repeats the statement of the last sentence in § 71, after the digression.

73. *ὡς δὲ . . . γινέσθαι*, *and when they came, &c* (G. 260, 2, N. 2). — *ἔρην Ἀθηναίης Σκυράδος*: this was probably on the southern point of Salamis. — *οὐτι τι . . . εἰδότε* for *οὐδὲν τι . . . εἰδότε*. — *ἤρῳτο* (v. *ἠρόμαι*), *prayed*.

74. *οἶοι τε*, *ready*. — *ἐπ' ἐξαργασμένοις*, *after all was over*. — *οὐ μόντοι*, &c.: Herodotus, who evidently disbelieved this story, (as Rawlinson remarks) "recorded it more on account of its poetic character than from ill-will towards Corinth."

75. *κατοφόνευσαν*: this is represented by the messenger in the *Persians* of Aeschylus as taking place after the battle, and as the worst disaster of the day. The Persian here slain are called "the finest, the bravest, the noblest, and the first in the King's confidence." (See § 54, above.)

Page 218. — 76. *Κωλιάδα*: this was on the Attic coast, a little more than two miles southeast of Phalerum. — *διοπλήσαι*, *to fulfil*, governs *τὸν χρησμὸν*, which is explained by *τὸν τε ἄλλον . . . Μουσαίῃ*, and irregularly by *τὸ εἰρημένον*, &c.: for the latter we should expect *τὸν κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια . . . εἰρημένον*. — *ἐλελήθει*, *had escaped the notice of*. — *φρέξουσι* in the oracle must mean *shall roast* (i. e. *cook*) with the wood of the oars which shall drift ashore. The MSS. have *φρίξουσι*, which might mean *shall shudder* at the sight of oars (?). The following words, *ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέως*, favor the common emendation *φρίξουσι*.

77. *χῆμα διαχούν*, *to build a mole or dam* from the Attic shore to Salamis. He also (τέ) began a bridge of boats, and pretended to be preparing for another sea-fight, while he was really planning a retreat (*δρησμὸν*). — *ἐκ παντὸς νόου*, *in real earnest*. — *πολεμήσειν* is irregular after *παρεσκευάσται* (G. 202, 3).

78. *παραγίγνεται*, *travels* (lit. *comes in, arrives*). — *οὕτω*, *with such skill*.

Page 219. — *ὄσον ἂν ᾖ* (G. 225). — *μὴ οὐ* (G. 283, 7; 263, 1, N.). —

κατ' ἄλλον, *by one after another*, a strange expression (perhaps a mistake) for κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον. — λαμπυροφότη, *torch-race*, like λαμπρές (I. § 7).

80. Μαρδόνιον: see below, § 86. — παραίμενον, *in attempt*, i. e. *so far as he could*, belongs to the subject of ποίειν. — ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, *thus far did matters advance*. — ὡς τάχως εἶχε (G. 168, N. 3). — διαφυλαξάμενος . . . βασιλεῖ, *to guard the bridges for the King's passage* (G. 265). — Ζωστήρ: Zoster is a promontory of Attica about half-way between the Piræus and Sunium. — ἐπὶ πολλόν, *to a great distance*.

Page 220. — 81. ἤλπιζον, *they supposed*, followed by εἶναι in indirect discourse (G. 203).

82. εἰ λέγουσι . . . τοῦτ' ἂν . . . ἐργάσαντο: the direct form would have the same tenses and moods (G. 227, 1). — ἥσυχίην μὴ ἔχων, *to avoid keeping quiet*. — ἄγοντι μὲν = εἰάν μὲν ἄγῃ (G. 226, 1). — ὅττι . . . ἔσται, *neither can anything succeed*. — κομιδῇ, *return*. — τὸν ἐπείτερον αἰὲ καρπὸν, *the harvest of each successive year*. — ἀλλὰ belongs to ἐπείτερον εἶναι (sc. ἔφη). — ἐς δ' ἔλθῃ, *until he comes*, without ἂν (G. 232, 3; 234).

83. μεταβαλόν, *turning*, i. e. *from the others to the Athenians*. — ἀρμάτω, *were eager* (set out). — καὶ ἐπὶ σφείων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι, *even taking it upon themselves*, i. e. *on their own responsibility*. — ἄλλοι = οἱ ἄλλοι.

Page 221. — πολλοῖσι, *many occasions*. — ἀναλαμβάναν, *retrieve*. — εἶρημα, *good luck or godsend*: the idea is, that the rescue of ourselves and of Greece is a piece of special good fortune.

84. καταβάλλον τὰ εἰδώματα: the Persian religion, like the Jewish, was uncompromisingly hostile to idols (iconoclastic). A Persian therefore might commit acts with no sacrilegious intent which would be gross impiety in the eyes of a Greek. — ἀπειραστίγασσι: see II. § 9, above. — ἀλλ' . . . γάρ, *but, since*. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι (G. 270), *let us care for*: we should expect δεῖ here. — καὶ τις (G. 150, N.). — ἀποθήκην: see note on § 53. — τὰ παρ' ἐγένετο: Themistocles took refuge in Persia after the death of Xerxes, when he claimed the favor of the King on the ground of the services rendered to the Persian cause at this time, confessing and boasting that his action had been treacherous to the Greeks. It may be doubted whether he deceived the Greeks, or the Persians, or both. Grote remarks: "There existed in the mind of this eminent man an almost unparalleled combination of splendid patriotism, long-sighted cunning, and selfish rapacity. . . . Moreover, a clever man tainted with such constant guilt might naturally calculate on being one day detected and punished, even if the Greeks proved successful."

85. δέβησαν, *deceived them*. — Connect σιγῇν τὰ (= δ) ἐνεπείσαν.

Page 222. — ἀπίκτων ὀπίσω: after this, Themistocles sent threatening messages to many of the Greek islanders, by which he extorted large sums of money, which laid the foundation of his great wealth of 80 or 100 talents. At Andros he demanded payment in the name of "those mighty Gods of Athens, Persuasion and Necessity"; but the Andrians refused in

the name of their "two unprofitable Gods, who never desert their island, Poverty and Helplessness," and submitted to a siege, in which they baffled all the efforts of the Athenians.

86. *ἔοψε* with *προτέμψαι* (G. 202) means *it seemed good*; but with *εἶναι* (G. 203) it means *it seemed*, and so with the following infinitive. — *οὐκ ἔφη*, i. e. *said that he would not*. — *τριάκοντα μυριάδας*: this is the army which remained in Greece during the winter, and was defeated at Plataea in the following year (479 B. C.).

87. *οὐδὲν μέρος*, i. e. no important part, compared with the host with which he entered. — *οἱ δὲ* (G. 227, 2).

Page 223. — *ἔνα . . . γίνετο ἱλατῶν*, *wherever he happened to come in his march*, depends on the frequentative force of *ἐπιτάσσειν* (G. 233). — *ἔρμα τοῦ Διὸς*: see note on II. § 13, above. — *ἀπὸλαβε*, *receive back*: so *ἀποδίδωμι* means *give back* or *repay*. — *νεομέναις*, *as they were in pasture*, refers to the eight white mares (called simply *ἑπτα λευκοί* in II. 18) which drew the sacred chariot: compare the poetic use of *ἀφ' ἑνῶν*, &c., referring to the chariot.

88. *τῆς νηυσὶ*: see §§ 80 and 96. — *ἐμπιπλάμενοι*, *gorging themselves*.

89. *ὅδε*, *as follows*, after *λεγόμενος*; not *ὅδε λόγος* (without *ὁ*): this is probably a specimen of the tales current in Greece which were invented to malign the servile temper of the Asiatics. — *χαμαίνεσθαι* (sc. *τὸν βασιλέα*); *suffering from the storm*: — *ὥστε* = *ἄτε* (G. 277, N. 2). — *ἐπιβατέων*, here probably simply *passengers*: see note on § 60.

90. *κηδόμενος* (G. 280). — *οἶκε* = *δοικα*.

Page 224. — *ἀποσωθῆναι*, *was brought safe*. — *ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι* (G. 260, 2, N. 2).

91. *οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ . . . πάθος*, *neither in other points, nor as to this which [is said to have] happened to the Persians*. — *ἀντίστον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε*, *opposed to the idea that he would have done something like this*: *μὴ* is used because of the negative idea of *ἀντίστος* (G. 283, 6), while *οὐ* is added because of *οὐκ ἔγωγε* (G. 283, 7.) — *τοῖς μὲν καταβιβάζσαι* (sc. *ἂν*) is added (by apposition) to explain *ποιῆσαι ἂν*; but *ὅπως οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐξέβαλε* reverts to the construction which *ποιῆσαι ἂν* represents (*ἐποίησε ἂν*).

92. *τραπέμενοι*, after the fruitless siege of Andros: see note on § 85. — *ἐγένετο ἀνδριῆς*, *a statue was made*.

93. *τῷ γενομένῳ*, *to him who had shown himself*. — *διενέμοντο*, *gave their votes*; lit. *distributed among themselves*, because all voted for some of those present.

Page 225. — *δεύτερα* (adverb), *in the second place*. — *συνέλειποντο*, *happened (fell out) to agree*: see § 30. — *ἐμονούντο*, *had but one vote apiece*.

94. *ἀκρίτων*, in active sense: Krüger, however, interprets it *unjudged, with their merits undecided*. — *δριστήια μὲν*: we must understand *ἀνδραγαθίας* or some such word; Plutarch says (Them. XVII.), *ἑταρμυρίδην μὲν*

δορυφόρος, *ἐκείνῳ* (i. e. Themistocles) *31 δορυφόρος ἀμυνέσθων Σπάρται.* (Stein will even insert the word in the text.) — *ἐκείνῳ*: the 300 knights were the regular body-guard of a Spartan king when he went into battle; Leonidas, however, chose a special band of 300 to accompany him to Thermopylae (see note on III. § 21).

95. *ὃς . . . ἔχει* depends on the idea of *saying* in *ἐνέκεα*. — *Τυρόδωμος*: we must suppose this man to have been a native of Belbina, a little island near Sunium, and to have been made an Attic citizen and enrolled in the deme of Aphidnae. Plato and many other writers tell the same story of a Seriphian, without making him a citizen of Athens. — *ἐάν, if I were*, = *εἰ ἦν* (G. 222; 226, 1), and *if thou wert*. — *Ἀθηναῖος* must here mean *born in Athens*.

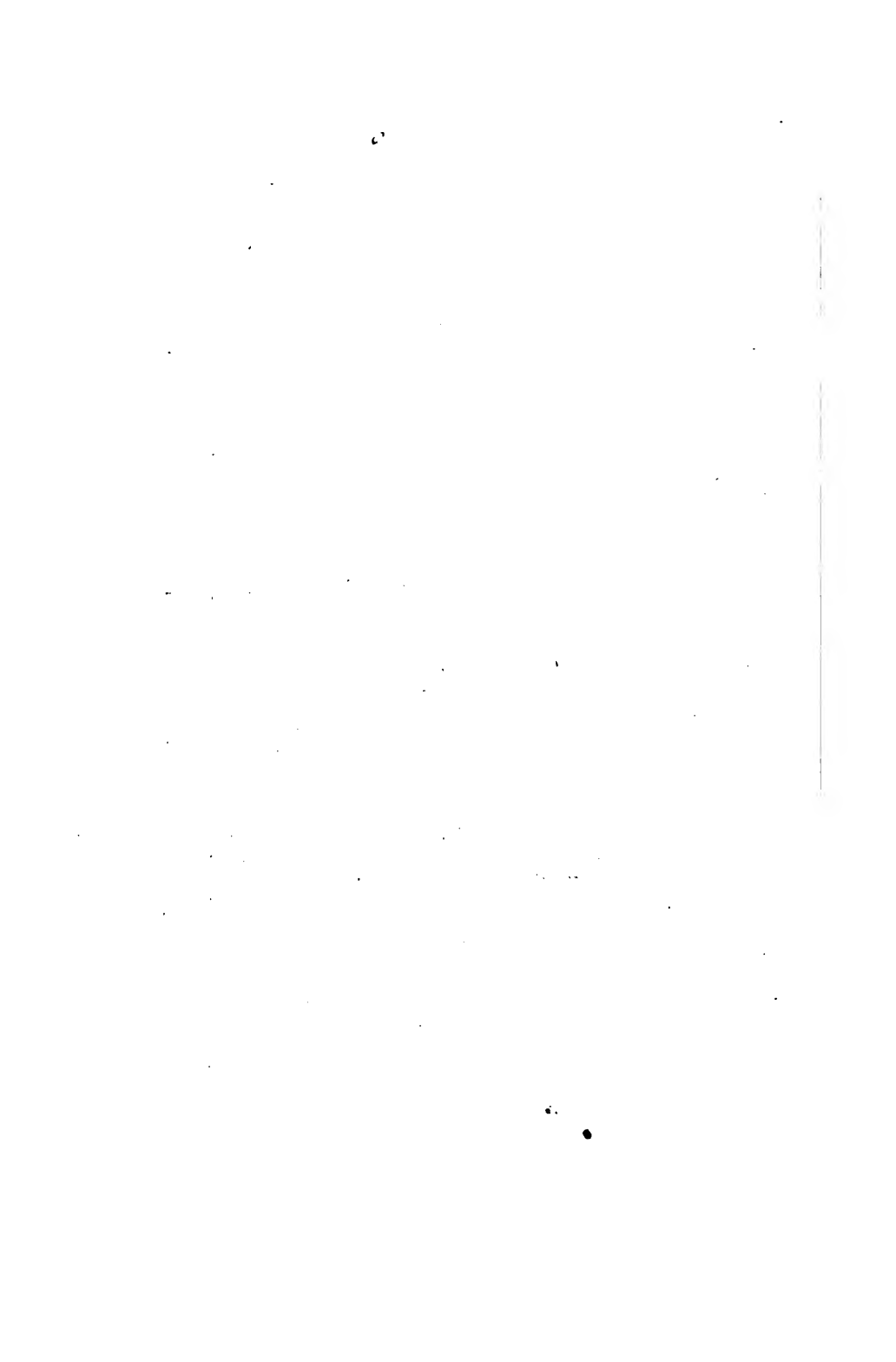
96. *ναυμάχος*, sc. *σπαρτός*. — *ὃ ἔλειπον παραγενόμενος*, unless *ὃ* is inserted before the participle, will mean *which remained to (belonging to) Xerxes*. — *σποδίσμῳ*, *arrived at*. — *Κέρη*, in Aeolis, on the coast of Asia Minor.

In the following spring, the army of Mardonius re-entered Central Greece, and again occupied Athens; the Athenians, as before, retreated to Salamis. At the great battle of Plataea, in which the Greeks were commanded by the Spartan Pausanias, Mardonius was defeated and slain, and his army nearly annihilated. This disaster, with the defeat in the sea-fight at Mycale, on the same day, was the final act of the Persian wars in Greece.

## SOME OF THE IMPORTANT DATES OF GREEK HISTORY.

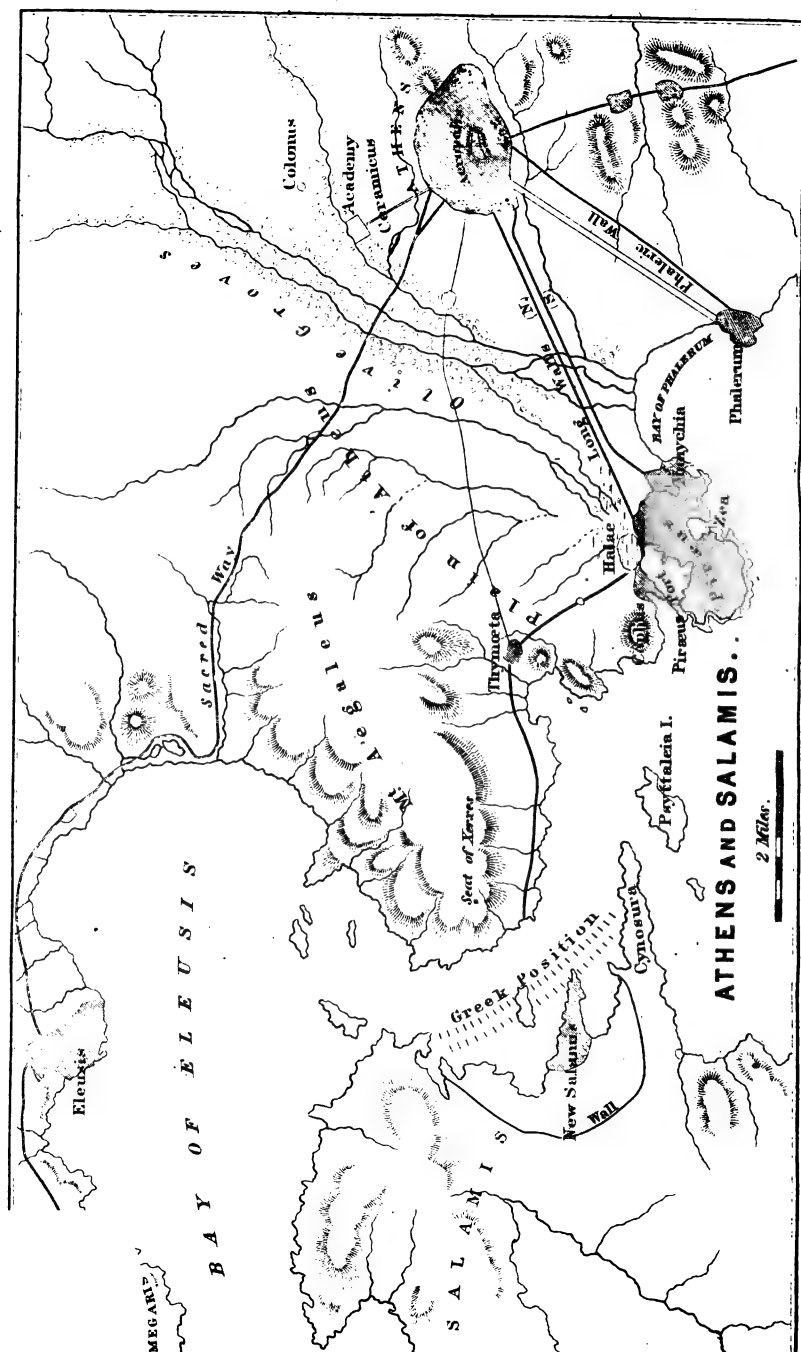
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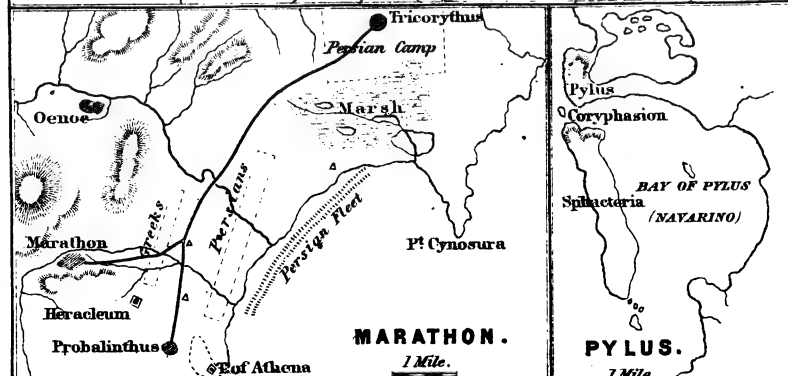
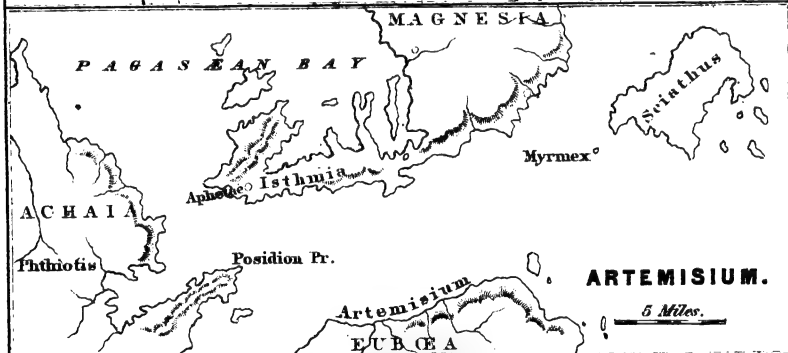
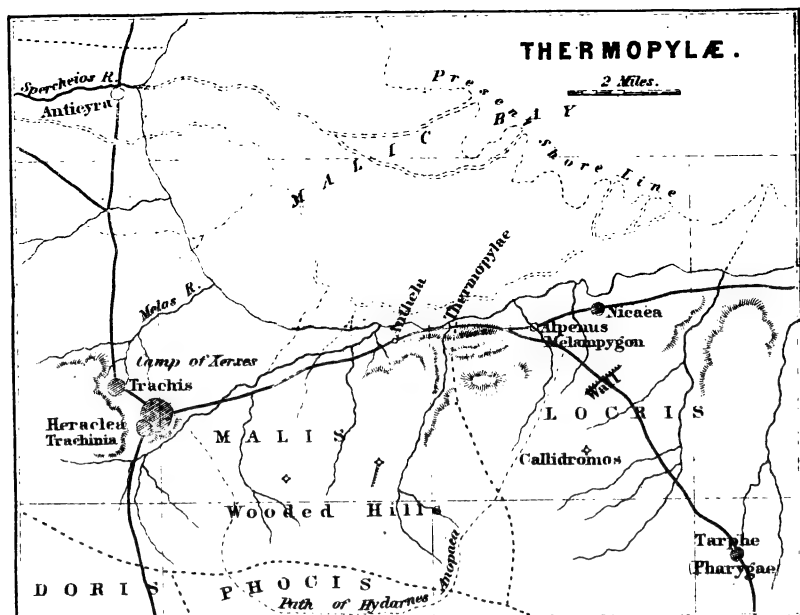
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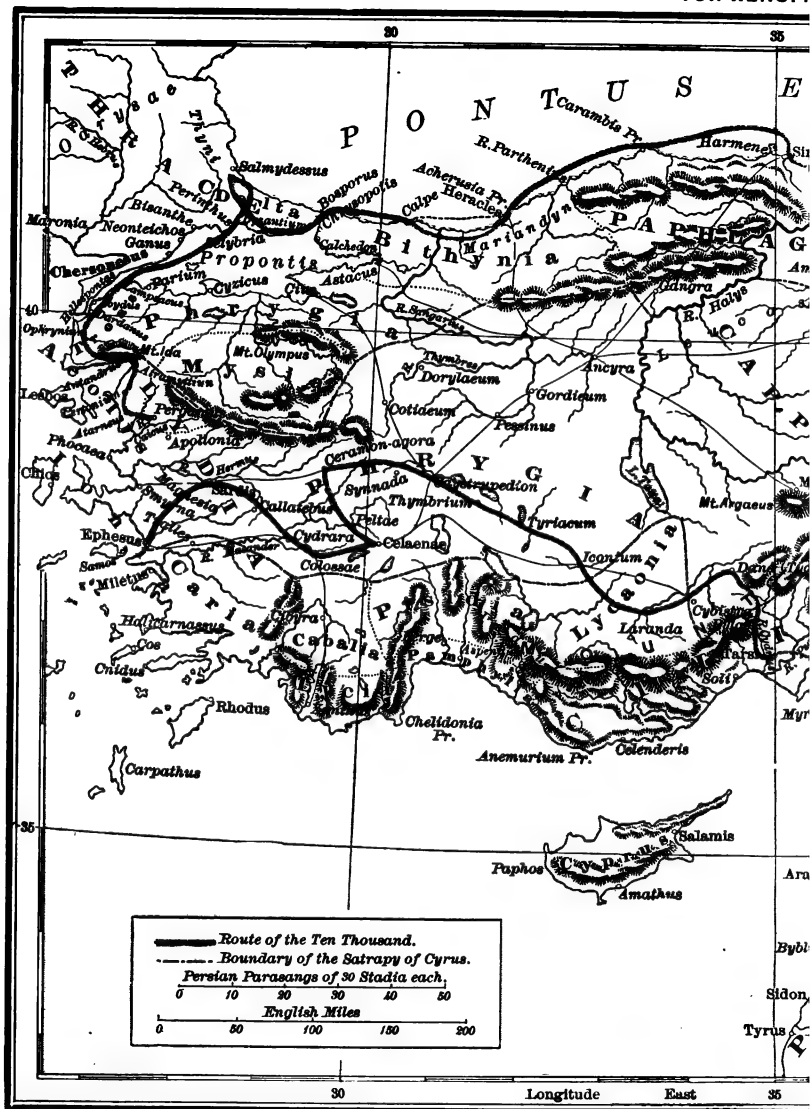




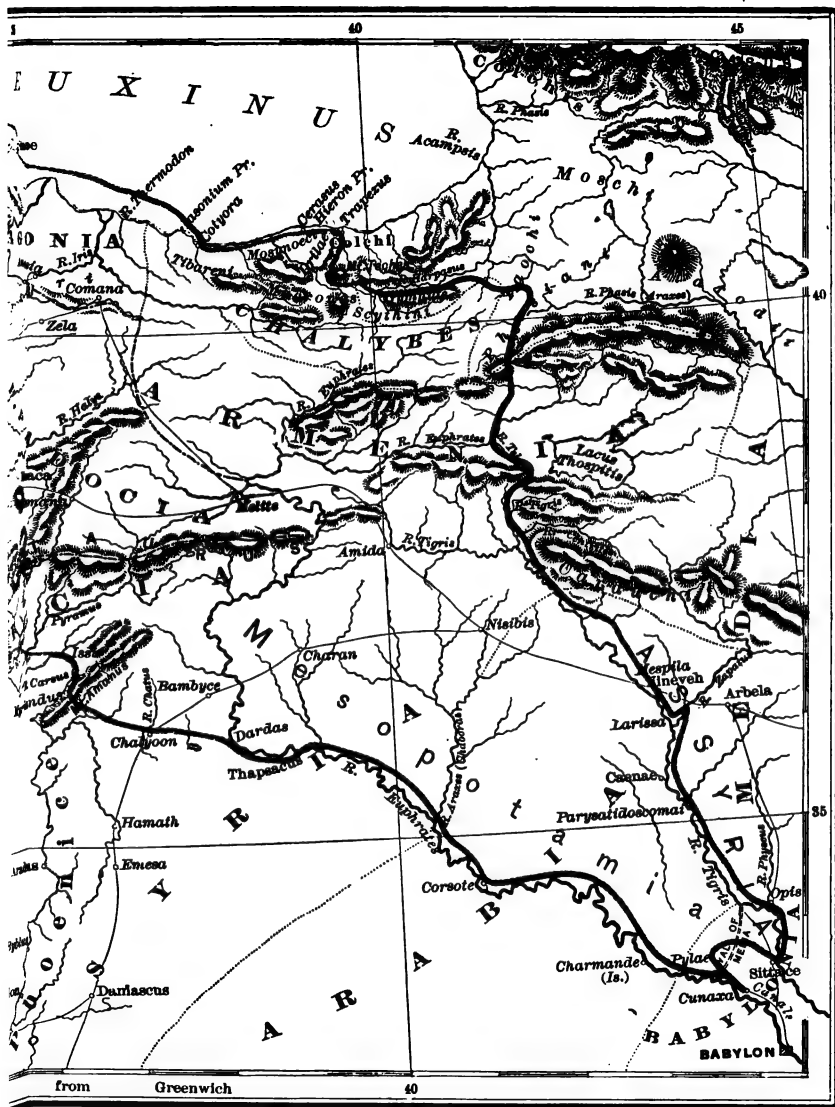


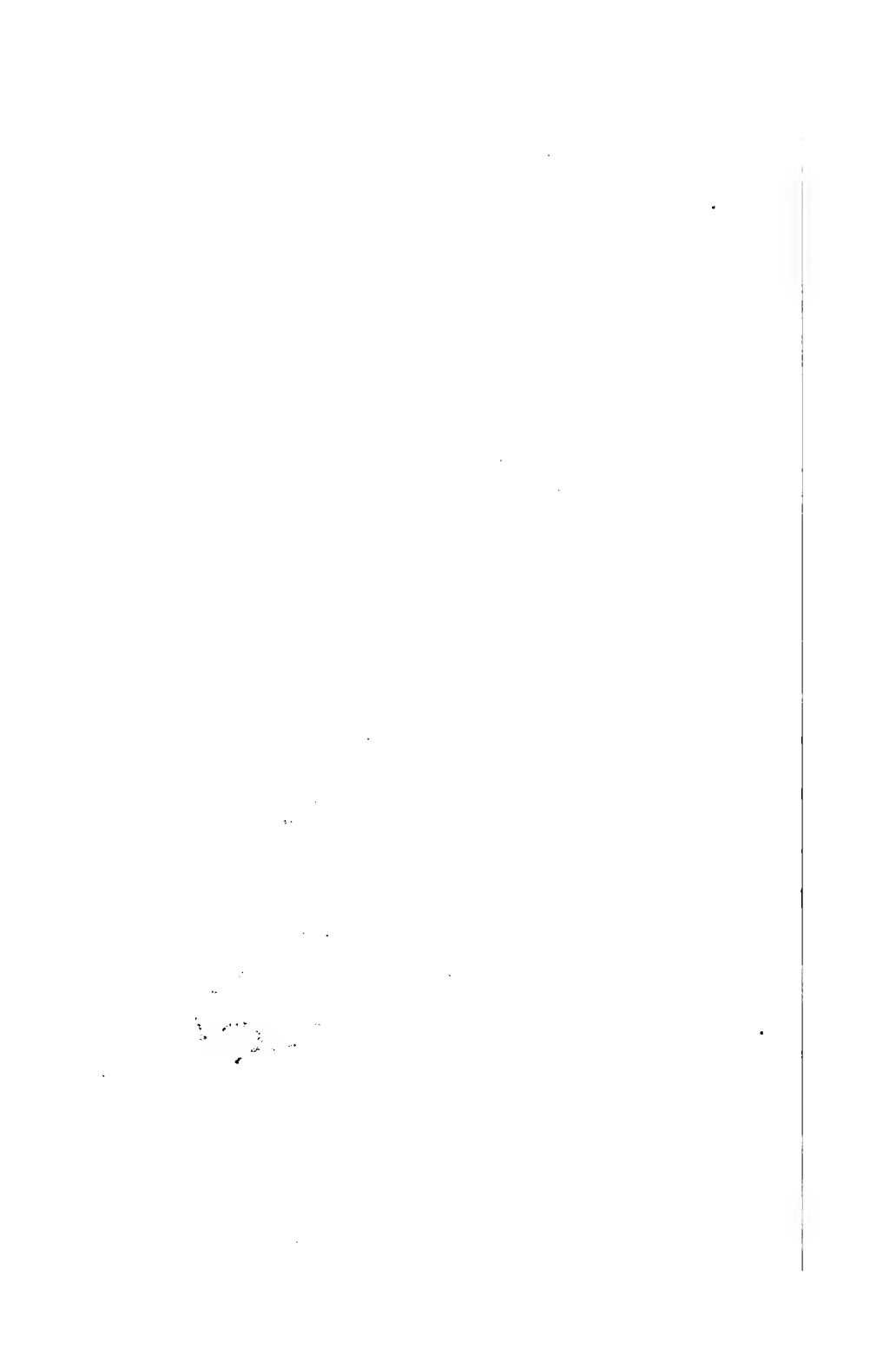


**FOR XENOPH**



## WOMEN'S ANABASIS.





## GREEK TEXT-BOOKS.

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By WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, Ph.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard College. Revised and Enlarged Edition. 12mo. Half morocco. xxxvi + 451 pages. Mailing Price, \$1.65; Introduction, \$1.50.

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3. Particular attention has been paid to improvements in the Syntax, and the chief increase has been made in this department.

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